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# The Classical Journal

PUBLISHED BY THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE MIDDLE WEST AND SOUTH  
WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND  
AND THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC STATES

Volume XXII

DECEMBER, 1926

Number 3

Editorial	161
Address of Welcome to the New England Classical Association R. B. Ogilby	165
The Value and Conduct of the State Classical Association Elizabeth M. Roff	170
The New Rome and Archaeology William Stuart Messer	179
Hannibal Trismegistus Hubert McNeill Poteat	189
A Letter from Babylon Edgar R. Smothers	202
Plato as a Contemporary Essayist Joseph E. Baker	210
Notes	221
The Homeric Test of Run-over Lines John A. Scott	
Notes on Homer Ernest Riedel	
Current Events	224
Book Reviews	227
<i>Diogenes Laertius</i> , R. D. Hicks (Smiley); <i>The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene</i> , Augustine Fitzgerald (Smiley); <i>Nocturnus</i> , R. B. Appleton (Lawler); <i>A Study of the Causes of Rome's Wars from 343 to 265 B.C.</i> , John William Spaeth, Jr. (Microw); <i>M. Tulli Ciceronis De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum</i> , J. S. Reid (Jones); <i>The Odyssey of Homer</i> , Sir William Morris (Scott); <i>Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period</i> , E. Douglas Van Buren (Dorjahn)	
Recent Books	237

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the co-operation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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# THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

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## Editorial

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### SIGNS OF THE TIMES

Just recently events have been following hard upon one another in matters pertaining to the teaching of Latin in the schools. Two or three of these developments deserve emphasis at this time.

In the first place, profound significance attaches to the action of the College Entrance Examination Board, whereby the reading program is to be made as elastic as any teacher could wish.

Long since many have realized that the old rigid program plunged the second-year student into Caesar before he was fully prepared for that venture. The Board now formally recognizes the need of graded reading material for the beginning of the second year, and puts "made" Latin upon the same plane as any other.

For the third and fourth years, it is proposed that one-half of the time be given to Cicero and Vergil, the remainder to be spent upon a wider range of reading.

For the third year, at any rate, this plan has great advantages; for the reading of two or three books of Caesar is far from an adequate preparation for Cicero's orations. The vocabulary is different, the sentence structure far more complicated, and the thought more difficult to follow. Further training in the first half of the third year is eminently desirable before Cicero is attacked.

Some teachers doubtless will be sorry to see the time-honored

program breaking up. But it will be a distant day when Cicero and Vergil are abandoned altogether; and present loss can be minimized by selecting the really significant parts of the old schedule. Meanwhile instructors who have felt the need of change, in order to meet present-day conditions, have full opportunity to make such innovations as they find necessary. If history repeats itself here, we may be sure that these will be slowly and carefully made.

In the second place, the changed attitude of publishers toward projected Latin texts tells its own story. During the war, and in the years immediately following, the emphasis put upon other subjects forced the classics into a temporary eclipse. This was shown in no way more clearly than in the unwillingness of publishers to bring out Latin books. Indeed things were rapidly coming to a point where an author must undertake the cost of printing himself, if he would have his volume see the light.

But, to quote Tacitus: *Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit.* Thus, not long after the close of the war (incredible as it may appear) a prospective author of a Latin text received from a publishing house a letter of which the closing paragraph reads as follows:

You have certainly done an interesting piece of work, and I think, in the interest of the classics, we ought to publish it, but I very much doubt if you will be repaid for your trouble or we for our outlay. However, we ought all occasionally to do something of this sort for the good of the cause.

This, of course, is a shining exception. Those of us who have had much dealing with publishers will unite in testifying that they are a fine body of men generally. But theirs is a mercantile venture, and it is their business to make money for the stockholders. They must, therefore, choose for publication the books for which there is a profitable sale.

Proof of the present prosperity of Latin appears perhaps nowhere more clearly than in the fact that the fall advertising reveals the fact that two new series of secondary Latin texts are now being inaugurated.



Once again, the American Association of University Professors has recently conducted a long investigation on the subject of college matriculation. In its *Bulletin* for October of this year, the matter is discussed at length; and on pages 467 ff. the conclusions are embodied in a series of recommendations. Among these, the two following are of interest in the present connection:

That all college entrance be placed upon the basis of comprehensive examinations in four fundamental subjects.

That the four fundamental and required entrance subjects for an arts degree be English, Latin, mathematics, and a modern foreign language.

In an investigation conducted by an association so wide in its scope, the objection cannot be raised that the recommendations are made by a packed committee holding a brief for Latin. The fact that Latin is here recommended as one of the four subjects on which all candidates for the A.B. degree should be tested is convincing proof of the staying powers of the subject, despite all that detractors say or do.

Teachers of Latin should everywhere take heart of grace, and speak boldly in favor of the splendid and successful discipline which they represent. Since nothing succeeds like success, now is the time to take advantage of the rising tide to recover lost ground and to occupy new territory. Space is taken here to indicate only two of the ways in which something constructive may be accomplished.

In many schools Latin is not taught beyond the second year. Such a brief course can be made exceedingly valuable, but it is in part a period of preparation, in which momentum is acquired. Hence the election of a third and fourth year more than doubles the value of the training received.

With just a little effort, judiciously expended, it is likely that in hundreds of schools third- or fourth-year Latin, or both, could be added to the two-year offering now so unfortunately prevalent. Where it is possible to secure only three periods for Latin, the results of a four-year course may be approximated by alternating the third- and fourth-year work in successive years.

If, in connection with this forward movement, the new freedom is utilized to make more effective and attractive the reading program of the first half of the third year, it should be possible to influence students in increasing numbers to continue the study of Latin beyond the Caesar year — that point of articulation where we have lost so heavily in the past.

The other suggestion is that a special appeal be made to boys who have shown special aptitude in the study of Latin to continue the subject with a view to teaching-positions later on. At present the scarcity of instructors for college classes is acute. One of the smaller eastern universities reports that early last spring forty calls had been received for teachers of classics. Anyone can secure added information under this head by writing to the nearest university offering graduate work in Latin. It would be a valuable service indeed to save some of the best young men for Latin, and, at the same time, to augment the now scanty source of supply for Latin instructors some years hence.

Many have been wishing that they could in some way help the cause of Latin. Now is the time to transmute wish into actual achievement; the juncture is favorable in the extreme.

H. C. N.

## ADDRESS OF WELCOME TO THE NEW ENGLAND CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION

By PRESIDENT R. B. OGILBY  
Trinity College

Hospites honorandi, ex academiis multis ac diversis ad hanc sodalitatem congressi, in nomine huius collegii Sanctissimae Trinitatis curatorum, professorum, etiam studentium, salutem plurimam dico. Aulae, agri, et corda nostra hodie tota vobis sunt. Quamquam aetate, sexu, dignitate, et forsitan opibus dissimiles, in uno similes sumus: linguam communem intellegimus.

Tribus ex numero vestro, qui pristinis temporibus me in linguae Latinae mysteria induxerunt — sive verbis blandosis et peritis, sive vi et manibus, taceo — salutem praecipue dicere volo.

Tibi quoque, huius convocationis praesidi, quondam magistro meo, ut ille Syrus sapiens, "Secrete amicos admone, lauda palam," olim dixit, ego qui, puer inter sodales, verba infanda in tuum caput absens invehebam, nunc coram doctoribus dignissimis sapientissimisque gratias maximas praesenti ago.

Vobis omnibus, delegatis et aliis, sive coniugibus sive amicis, epulae innoxiae post orationes apud inferos paratae sunt. Si quis hanc invitationem non comprehendit, esuriat.

### *LINGUA LATINA IN TERRIS REMOTIS*

It was in the year 1909 that I, following the example of St. Paul, Columbus, and Magellan, sailed out beyond the sunset in search of educational adventures.

Bishop Brent, always my hero and for years my dearest friend, asked me to come out to the Philippine Islands to establish at Baguio, five thousand feet up in the hills of Luzon, a boarding school for American boys. Founded primarily for sons of officers in the American army and of officials of the civil government

in the Islands, the school took in also sons of missionaries and of the enterprising citizens of our country whom business interests drew out into the Far East. It still flourishes with a constituency largely from this last class. At times the school, the only educational institution in the Far East for boys of strictly American and English parentage, has drawn an occasional Britisher from the China coast or the Strait Settlements.

Asked to prepare a paper for this assembly, I thought it would be worth while to speak of the pedagogical problems that confronted us at Baguio School and the happy solution we worked out. Of the life of the school itself I could speak at great length. With Ciceronian restraint I will content myself by referring to the fact that the school, set just beyond the frontier of civilization among the Igorots, a group of uncivilized mountain tribes, offered an environment of obviously great attraction to American boys. In the course of their regular journeys from their homes to the school and back at the beginning of vacation, they had often enough adventures to thrill an ordinary boy for his lifetime. Altitude in the tropics is the ideal climate, with its combination of wood fires night and morning the year round and the warmth of the tropic sun at midday. The vacations spent in long hikes over the mountains among the savage tribes were experiences never to be forgotten.

My purpose now, however, is simply to speak of the content of our curriculum and the complete shift made in our plans for the school as we met the actual problems of administration.

When I first considered the problem of establishing this school, it seemed to me that the pioneer nature of its environment and the classification of its constituency dictated a course of study essentially practical in character. I thought of the education an army officer would want for his son, of the point of view of the American engineer establishing civilization in the tropics, and I came to the conclusion that the basis of instruction in this school should be in terms of mathematics. Before I left this country, I blocked out a comprehensive scheme by which all promotion should be based solely upon proficiency in mathematics and ex-



pected to center the emphasis of instruction heavily upon that subject. Mr. Peabody, of Groton School, the headmaster under whom I served my apprenticeship in the teaching profession, arranged for a year's leave of absence for his most experienced teacher in mathematics and sent him out with me. We expected to introduce courses in manual training and mechanical drawing to give the boys of the school such facilities in applying their mathematics as would make their education thorough.

I had not been long in the Islands, however, when I made some interesting discoveries. What did the parents of the boys want? They showed comparatively little interest in my carefully worked out schemes and made a definite demand for the culture which in their estimation had made worth while the civilization they were trying to establish in these islands beyond the sea. They not only were hungry for everything that would tie their lives and the lives of their sons with home, but they felt that the education they wanted to give their boys was the richness of human experience which is crystallized in the literature of our language and of the European peoples to whom our debt is great. My eyes were opened. We made a complete change in our plans. I hastily ordered a large consignment of copies of Collar's *First Latin Book*, pregnant with memories of my own school days, and we began at once the teaching of Latin to every boy in the school. As ours was the only educational institution for American boys in the Philippine Islands, we were forced rather against our inclination to take boys younger than those usually attending boarding schools in this country. We began with boys between twelve and eighteen, but knowledge of the conditions in which lads of eight and twelve were living down in the sweating lowlands and isolated army posts compelled us to establish a primary department. Here also we taught Latin to everyone.

The new program was a complete success. We always were confronted with the difficulty of a constantly changing constituency. The army officers in the Philippines usually were out there for two-year terms of duty and the families of others occasionally packed up and moved away at short notice. In spite

of that, however, I was soon convinced that giving all our boys two years of Latin was of tremendous value in every way. It meant, first of all, that we never wasted any time trying to teach that horrid subject, English grammar. In the second place it showed that those of our boys who went on from the Latin to Romance languages handled them with ease. Such of our students as remained with us for a considerable period of years found themselves well equipped indeed and did well. In all my pedagogical experience I can think of few tasks that gave me greater pleasure than the rapid reading of Cicero's orations with a boy of sixteen whom we were sending to Cornell. The authorities at Cornell accepted his course of study and took him in without examination, but suggested that the amount of hours we had given to his Latin were less than their usual quantity requirement. Perhaps they did not realize that our small classes and intensive work carried us at a faster rate than is common in schools in this country. I was not reluctant, however, to have an opportunity to do more with this particular boy and we spent some happy months reading oration after oration of Cicero, which he mastered with ease.

Our solution of that pedagogical problem at Baguio School seems to have met the test of time. Many of my boys have done exceedingly well in this country. A large number of them from army families naturally went to West Point, where their standing was excellent. One of my former pupils is now one of the three most famous portrait painters in America and another has been conducting archaeological investigations in Central America. The most recent tribute to the value of our classical program was given me two weeks ago by a boy who has just entered Yale. It is years since he was at Baguio School, and, as the son of an army officer, his education has been broken up by constant moves as his father was shifted around the world. He reported to me his pride in getting 96% in his Vergil examination for entrance to Yale last year and his satisfaction in being ahead of his class in freshman Latin, quite ready to attribute all his success in that language to the early start he got at Baguio.

What I want to stress is the universality of our success in teaching Latin early and to all. Not only do I find Baguio boys doing well at Harvard, Yale, and other colleges, but I find them graduating high from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, West Point, Annapolis, and some technical schools. Not all went to college, but I am convinced that all profited greatly by the foundation we laid for their education in this little school on a mountain top in the Philippines.

There is no moral to this tale nor do I submit it to this group as propaganda. I presume you all would agree with me as to the value of beginning the study of Latin early and of requiring it of everyone. It may be that we are caught in the grip of an educational system where forces that directly or indirectly control the curriculum of our schools have never been converted to the ideas so dramatically brought home to me by the experiences I have related to you. I am simply submitting these few words as a report of a chance which I had to do something any one of you could have done and would have done better than I did it, and which I know any one of you would have been extremely eager to undertake.

## THE VALUE AND CONDUCT OF THE STATE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION<sup>1</sup>

By ELIZABETH M. ROFF  
Ashland, Kentucky, High School

About eight years ago, in 1918, I attended my first meeting of the Kentucky Educational Association. The language section of that year had nothing on the program of special interest and practical help to the Latin teacher. On the program of the general session a slurring reference was made to the subject by some one who was talking of the necessity of rural schools' teaching agriculture and it amused the assembly to hear the speaker ridicule the idea of having children waste good time connecting the back of the book and the front of the book in a struggle to prepare their Latin lessons, of which he maintained they knew nothing when they got through.

He told also of once hearing in a rural high school an excellent lesson in Greek with (to his horror) ten good acres of school ground not being utilized. I remember telling my mother about it, and I can recall yet her indignation and her refutation, in that they had the agriculture and they would always have it: it was well to open their minds to the literary world in the few years of school that offered their only chance. I began to wonder how we Latin teachers could organize ourselves, not to combat others but at least to promote our own interests.

I have worked on the idea since that day, and though the Classical Association of Kentucky has now held its sixth annual meeting, I did not feel that I dared discuss a theme upon which others would know so much without knowing a bit of what each one might know. Therefore, I resorted to the method of the day

<sup>1</sup> Read at the meeting of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, at the University of Illinois, April 2, 1926.



in borrowing ideas, by sending out questionnaires to the vice-presidents of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with a view to determining whether there was in each state a classical association, or any organization resembling it, or any effort toward the formation of such an association, also asking for the names of six of the most thoroughly alive teachers in the state who could give detailed information. One hundred and fifty-seven follow-up questionnaires were mailed to the names so obtained, with 103 returned. This shows, I think, a very real *esprit de corps* and is a tribute to the loyalty of the profession.

From these replies I am able to state that the usual chief classical organization in a state is the classical section of the general educational meeting or meetings. In the territory of the Association of the Middle West and South, such classical sections are found in: Alabama, Colorado, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Ontario, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, Wisconsin.

The time devoted to the sessions of these sections varies from one afternoon to two days. There were several mentions of a recent vote to increase the length of the classical section by allowing two sessions or two days where only one, respectively, had been the custom. The majority, however, have single sessions.

In Florida the Latin teachers are a part of the general high-school section. In Wyoming they are a part of the foreign-language section. North Carolina writes that the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South serves practically as a state classical association. Tennessee has long had a Philological Association which meets annually. Since 1921 Ohio has had a very successful classical conference of plan and length similar to the meeting of the Association of the Middle West and South. The Kentucky Classical Association also is distinct from the Educational Association. In several other states the classical teachers have supplemented the classical section of the general educational meeting with a strictly classical meeting

held at another time of year and usually centered about the state university. This is especially true in Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas, and Michigan.

In the states of Indiana, Texas, and Kentucky, where state-wide Latin tournaments are conducted under the state classical association or classical section, additional teachers' meetings are held at the tournament centers. Special mention is made of classical clubs in various cities. In summary we can say, therefore, that there is usually a classical section at the state educational meeting, and the sessions of this section are increasing in number. Strictly classical meetings instead of, or in addition to, these classical sections are increasing also. This is certainly very pleasing and presents a most hopeful outlook.

How are these classical organizations to be conducted so that they are of the greatest value to the classical teacher and the classical cause? In the first place, I think the life of a classical association is the attractive annual meeting, which should include an overnight stay to allow for committee work and social contact. There should be a varied and well prepared program, including evidence of pupil activity, such as exhibits sent from different high schools, with demonstration classes, classical plays, and songs from schools near at hand. On the part of teachers there should be a few papers, and ample time for discussion. An address of suggestions, criticism, or encouragement from a business or professional man or woman is often helpful.

It has been found most valuable to have a specially paid classical lecturer of national fame. One questionnaire from Kentucky, where the special lecture has been a feature since the beginning of the association, worded appreciation especially well in saying, "I enjoyed the lecture *and* the lecturer. The thing that impressed me most at the last meeting was a call for advice in the round table and Dr. Miller's answer, the earnestness of the call, and the wisdom of the reply." It has been very much our experience in Kentucky that these great scholars do more than lecture. As a rule they come early and stay through the sessions of the convention, Friday afternoon, Friday evening, when the lecture is

given, and Saturday forenoon. They have often addressed the chapel of the hostess school, for the Kentucky classical association goes to a different place each year to spread its influence and get a fresh outlook. Our lecturers have mingled with the people, participated in the discussions, and given much help out of their wide experience. I have been almost startled to see how much they really seemed to enjoy the discussions. I have been equally gratified to see the interest a great lecture, with its illuminating glimpses, creates in graduate work on the part of high-school teachers.

This annual meeting brings the high-school teacher and the college teacher of the same state on the floor of the same convention, to consider together how to encourage the high-school youngster to continue his Latin, not only through high school but in college. It offers an opportunity for the college professor to show the high-school teacher how the college work must be built on the foundation that she has laid, and wherein that foundation may be improved. It offers an opportunity also to plan, at least, to make it attractive for pupils to continue Latin in college, to arrange for the college teacher to look out for and encourage certain students the following September. I know sometimes that a high-school teacher does point out to her brightest students the need of Latin teachers, and the pleasure of such specialization, describing the college courses and removing timidity through reassurance, only to learn later that when they got to college nobody else seemed to be taking Latin, and nobody gave them a hint of welcome to the department. She becomes discouraged and may surrender the next bright one to the educationist without a struggle. The classical association should be the time and place for the college teacher and the high-school teacher to plan a united campaign that will mean more Latin majors.

This greater understanding should lead to more appeals from the high-school teacher to the college professor for lectures on classical subjects through the year. It has been my personal experience that the college people will even make sacrifice in order to come and address the high-school Latin department or the

Latin club. I have found that the professors from the state-supported institutions come free of charge and those from other institutions for expenses, if the high school is near by. The state classical association sponsors, or should sponsor, acquaintance between the college teacher of Latin and Greek and the high-school youngster. Years after, those youngsters will remind you of a certain talk that a certain professor gave and which they enjoyed. Partly the content, partly the personality, just the variety is helpful.

Not only does Miss A who teaches in the high school become acquainted with Professor M who teaches in the state university, but she becomes acquainted with Miss Z who is wrestling with high-school problems in another section of the state, and it is as a convention of *friends* that the classical association is most anticipated and remembered through the year. The strictly classical meeting has more strength in this regard than the classical section of the educational meetings; for there is always a tendency for the identity of the single department to be absorbed when such an enormous meeting of so many departments is going on. Miss A may look up her old friend Miss B, who is in the history section, and may fail altogether to make new friends among the classics teachers. To enhance the opportunity for friendship each annual meeting should have social features, such as a reception, tea, drive to places of local interest, dinner, lunch. These may be donated or they can be financed by individual payment, but they should be arranged by the local committee. There seems to be something potent for fellowship in dining together or drinking from the same punch bowl.

Practically every teacher consulted through the questionnaire spoke of the inspiration which comes from meeting others and discovering that they are harrassed with similar problems. Many stated that they had received valuable lists of books for references, for school libraries, valuable hints on method, more stated that they had received inspiration for graduate work, caught from those farther along the scholastic road; but with the exception of two, who at the same time apologized for saying it and exon-



erated the association by taking the blame upon themselves, *all* stated that they had received from the state association friendship, pride in the profession, and renewed belief in the value of the classics.

Finally the annual state meeting brings the teacher under the influence of the Association of the Middle West and South. Reports of its meeting should be given for the benefit of the many who have never attended a classical meeting outside their own state. This means a greater number of teachers reading the CLASSICAL JOURNAL.

Thus the annual meeting may be made a great success for all who attend. How shall we increase attendance? How shall the association so conduct itself that it may be of value to the non-attending teacher? This leads to a mention of the mailing list, which I shall barely touch. Certainly there should be an arrangement whereby the text of the special lecture and not only announcements but also reports should reach all on that mailing list, which should include every teacher of classics and such laymen as are known to be interested in talking and writing for the cause. There should be a publication, then, which is the association's own, over and above the usual classics column in the state educational journal and any other publication which is good enough to give space.

This publication should carry through the year statements of what successful teachers are doing, full announcements about the tournament, about slides and films, material or copy for use in the local papers. It should take to city and school libraries lists of books described and endorsed by the association. In return for such a publication I believe it is possible to create a payment of dues on the part of many members who may not happen to attend the annual meeting. It may do for them, in return, a little of what the attendance at the meeting does for those who go. The feeling of power and enthusiasm, the tangible evidence of a strong classical association which does things, would influence superintendents and parents to encourage classical study. This state publication would be in supplement to Miss Sabin's *Latin*

*Notes*, of national popularity. The publication of the state organization should reach the teachers several times a year — if possible, every month. The plan of it mentioned above is the sum of various suggestions. Several successful publications which approach the ideal are: *The Bulletin for the Latin Teacher*, from the University of Indiana; Mississippi's *Classics in Mississippi Today*; *The Latin Leaflet*, from the University of Texas; Ohio's *Latin News and Notes*; *The Latin Bulletin*, from the University of Wisconsin. We understand that Texas, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin have each a state service bureau in charge of the state service committee of their classical organization with the work centered about the state universities. This includes package libraries and visual aids. Marshall College, State Normal of Huntington, West Virginia, Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia, and doubtless others, do a similar service.

In Kentucky we have the advantage of the *Latin Bulletin*, of the Louisville Male High School, as an official organ, and a high-school principal who acts as a secretary of extension, using her school print-shop and art department quite effectively. She recently wrote me in a characteristic way, "I have at last secured an accurate mailing list, acquired by blood and persistence."

No publication should take the place of letters by the officers. The members seem to like the letters, even if mimeographed, from their chosen leaders. A committee of the association should prepare, where it has not been prepared, a state syllabus for Latin study, and should make recommendations on textbooks and curricula. This will raise the standard and unify the Latin curriculum, especially if a state tournament is arranged.

All the world loves a contest, and Latin is peculiarly fitted for such a contest, a contest in which mind alone wins out. A Latin tournament exalts scholarship, it brings out the good student, too often taken for granted. It increases the prestige of Latin in the school to hear about tryouts and who is going to represent such and such a class. I think I have seen that prestige express itself later in elections to class presidencies and other coveted offices.

Kentucky, since the beginning of its classical association in 1920, Indiana since 1924, Texas since 1923, give four examinations for the four years respectively. Indiana has worked out a complete local, county, and district system of elimination which is very admirable and which I wish there were time to review, and by which the final total of sixty-five assemble at Bloomington for the last reckoning. Kentucky has no tryouts save the ones given by the local teachers, but announces state winners from the papers obtained from its two centers. In Texas there is just one uniform contest, as in Kentucky, but held at six different centers. As I understand it, there is no attempt to declare state winners in Texas. Contests are held also under the auspices of Marshall College, Kansas State Teachers College, the University of North Carolina, the State Normal at Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

A Latin tournament fostered and managed by the classical teachers' association affects every teacher and every child in a secondary school even in the smallest village. Every pupil in the Latin department is a possible contestant. The good that it may do rests with the atmosphere which the teacher throws around it and the ambition that is aroused in the pupils.

The chief improvements suggested for the tournament in the states are: a provision for more centers in the early stages, the employment of the elimination principle so thoroughly worked out in Indiana, and by all means the holding of a final contest. It is good for the children to go somewhere and have a good time as a result of Latin. It is wonderful to see their earnestness!

The Bi-State, Indiana and Kentucky, Latin Contest, is fostered and entertained by the Latin Club of the Louisville Male High School. Latin contests are splendid within a city, state, or states, or arranged by a single college; but for the largest amount of interest to be aroused in the classics among the general public, the teaching profession, and the secondary-school pupil, we strongly urge that every state classical association or classical section launch a state contest in Latin. It is amazing how it inspires the pupils to work. The great need is for teachers who

will lead in county and district. Not "we ought," but "let's have," should be the attitude.

Perhaps some day under the state association there may be a contest arranged for students in college.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps some day there may be help given by it to needy classical students in college. Perhaps some day the sending out of a lecturer may be part of the state service work. I commend these to your consideration.

In conclusion, the fruits of the state classical association have been courage and joy and a deeper professional attitude, a continuity of interest in the classics from the high-school pupil through the graduate school, from the single teacher in the smallest hamlet to such a meeting as the one today. The presenting of a united front to difficulties has strengthened the members to ideals which alone they would not attempt. The present need is for each one to feel and demonstrate his powers of leadership and coöperation.

Help thy brother's boat across, and lo, thine own has touched the shore.

<sup>2</sup> A brief description of one such contest, which has been conducted with notable success for several years, is given in *Current Events* of this issue. But it is not conducted by the state association.



## THE NEW ROME AND ARCHAEOLOGY

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By WILLIAM STUART MESSER  
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The Natal Day of Rome, April 21, 1926, saw the inauguration of a new program of intensive excavation. In recent times there have been two marked periods of great archaeological effort in Rome. Under Napoleon a commission was appointed which included such famous names as Canova, Valadier, and Visconti, and from 1809 to 1814 five millions of francs were spent. Excavations were carried out in the Roman Forum and in the Forum of Trajan, and the Pantheon was restored. At that time the idea was first suggested of a great archaeological zone between the Palatine, the Capitoline, the Aventine, the Caelian, and the Esquiline. With the fall of Napoleon these grandiose operations were abandoned.

The next period of especial effort was initiated under the leadership of Guido Baccelli after 1870, and again with fruitful results. The work on the fora and the Pantheon was resumed, the Baths of Diocletian and those of Caracalla were freed, and the greater part of *Regio xii*, fortunately left free of modern buildings, was turned into a park, the present *Passeggiata Archeologica*, which contains the ruins of the Porta Capena and the imposing remains of the Baths of Caracalla.

Unless all signs fail, Rome is today on the eve of a still greater period of archaeological discovery and restoration. The reasons for this are two: the unprecedentedly rapid growth of the city, necessitating changes in the routing of the streets; and the recently quickened pride of the Italians in Rome's past, suggesting intensified research. Rome has experienced many expansions from the time when the first shepherds erected their rude huts on the

Palatine: the Servian city, the city of Augustus and the early Empire, the city of Aurelian, and the city of the Popes. Again the city is seething with life and ready to burst the bonds of its present confines. The Secession of the Plebs to the Sacred Mount arouses no Menenius Agrippa to lure the workers back to the city with the famous allegory of the body at war with its members. Settlement on the near-by hills is today advised and aided by the government. A tram to the vicinity of the Sacred Mount lands the visitor in a large suburb of modern, pretentious and ugly, but comfortable, apartments. The traffic problems of this greater city demand the widening and straightening of old streets and the opening of new ones. On the teeming ground of the Eternal City scarcely a pick can be used without coming upon some ancient monument. Witness the building of the direct line to Naples, which gave us the Underground Basilica at the Porta Maggiore; or the erection of a garage for one of the local taxi companies in the Viale Manzoni, which disclosed important early Christian paintings. Hence all the changes outlined by the government should, indirectly at least, be of great interest to archaeology.

The date chosen for the inauguration of the program of expansion and excavation was a happy selection. Tradition places the foundation of Rome in the year 753 B.C., on the twenty-first day of April, the *Palilia*, a festival to the ancient deity of sheep and shepherds. Never in its history, perhaps, has this day been so solemnly observed. No wheels of commerce moved in Rome — all business stopped. The citizens were called upon by proclamation from the government and by private appeal to keep the holiday thoughtful of the past. And all of the well-known popular devices for arousing interest were successfully employed. Parades and reviews were held in the Archaeological Zone, ceremonies were celebrated at the principal points, and at night the Mausoleum of Hadrian, the fora, the arches, and the Colosseum were illuminated with search-lights or Bengal fire.

That part of the day's program having to do with archaeolog-

ical excavation and restoration started with the exercises at the Theater of Marcellus. Augustus had built this theater down in the Campus Martius, outside of the walls of the city, between the Capitoline and the Tiber, on land even then thickly crowded and expensive. We are told that the real-estate operators of the day forced him to pay a good round sum for the site. The new theater was named from Marcellus, the adopted son of Augustus, whose premature death Vergil so feelingly refers to in the *Aeneid*. The theater had a seating capacity of from ten to fifteen thousand. Dedicated in 13 B.C., it stood for three centuries and a half. Then the succeeding generations began to find it useful as a quarry. Its great stones were carried away to build palaces and to repair bridges. Its priceless marbles were thrown into the kiln to make lime. Near the end of the eleventh century, the powerful Pierleoni family got possession of the theater and turned it into a stronghold which they held for two centuries. On the ruins of this stronghold was built the Palazzo Orsini of today, which has in season sheltered an American ambassador and an American library of the Italian *Risorgimento*.

The theater is situated in the most squalid and crowded quarter of Rome — a quarter which has long been so. For three hundred years the ghetto was at its doors, whose Jewish inhabitants were surrounded by a wall and restricted to the trades of carding silk and of costermongering. They could not issue into the city without donning their yellow head-dress, which marked them out for the gibes and stones of the rabble. Every Saturday, on their sacred day, they were driven past its walls to S. Angelo in Pescheria to listen to an evangelical sermon for their souls' sake. Within view from its upper ranges was the palace of the Cenci whence, tradition informs us, Beatrice was led to her incarceration in the Mausoleum of Hadrian. Many a tale the old theater could tell. The walls of the ghetto have disappeared, but the descendants of the ghetto still cling to their former haunts. The great arches of the theater they have converted into wretched shops and squalid hovels, and much of the old disrepute of the quarter per-

sists today. The "carbonai," the charcoal venders, the blacksmiths, the old-clothes dealers, the hardware sellers move dirty and desolate about the arches where once the Roman passed to some festival clad in his holiday toga.

The semicircular façade of the theater consisted originally of three series of open arcades like those familiar from the Colosseum, for which it formed the model. The engaged half-columns of the lowest rank between the arches were Doric, of the middle rank Ionic, and of the highest Corinthian. Of this semicircular portion of fifty-two columns, twelve arcades of the lowest and middle ranks with their engaged columns still remain. The topmost rank with its Corinthian columns has been entirely replaced by modern masonry work. The Palazzo Orsini occupies the stage and part of the cavea. Within the grounds of the palace some uncovering has been conducted by the owner, and there one can see part of the ambulatories, portions of the substructures, and the spur walls with the rooms between them.

The plan of the government, now well under way, is to clean out entirely the disreputable shops and houses that disfigure the exterior, and to isolate the monument. No sooner are the dispossessed inhabitants trundled away in government camions — not without protest on the part of many — to the new quarters assigned to them than an ax and pick commence their work. The level of the modern street is fully sixteen feet higher than that of the ancient, covering about one-third of the lowest rank. The arcades of the portico of entrance are to be carried down to this original level. Two of these Doric half-columns on the easterly portion, nearest the Piazza Montanara, had already been entirely exhumed for the ceremonies of the twenty-first. Naturally the part of the arcades formerly protected by the earth is in an excellent state of preservation. The completion of the government's undertaking will restore to us an ancient monument in a setting, *mutatis mutandis*, comparable to that of the Colosseum.

Another series of excavations officially initiated on April 21 has to do with the oriental hemicycle of the Forum of Trajan.



This forum was one of a great system of fora built under the empire. Caesar had first moved against that congested district at the foot of the Capitoline, the slums of ancient Rome, and had decided to turn it into a splendid zone of public buildings which would form a worthy thoroughfare from the central business section of the old Forum to the newer, but none the less crowded levels of the Campus Martius. The Forum of Julius Caesar, the Forum of Augustus, the Forum of Vespasian, the Forum of Nerva, and the Forum of Trajan were planned one after another in rapid succession for this ground. Of these monumental squares some portions have never been entirely buried. The great fire wall of the Forum of Augustus with the towering shafts of the temple of Mars Ultor has always excited admiration. The columns of the Forum of Nerva, the *Colonnacce*, and the memorial Column of Trajan with its spiral band of reliefs portraying the Dacian campaigns have long been a familiar sight to visitors and are known to a wider circle from photograph and painting.

The Forum of Trajan, to which this memorial column belonged, was an elaborate unit of buildings and open spaces. It consisted of the forum proper, the Basilica Ulpia, and a double library. One wing of the library contained Greek, the other Latin books. Both had spacious reading-rooms decorated with the busts of Greek and Roman authors. Between these two wings the Column of Trajan stood, which still towers aloft over one hundred feet. The basilica adjoined the library on the south. It was a great colonnaded hall with walls of indestructible Roman concrete faced with precious marbles from all over the known world. The roof was of timber covered with gilded bronze tiles. Large slabs of white marble formed the floor, and ninety-six columns supported a colonnade around the hall. At the east and west were exedrae. The extreme southerly division was the forum proper — a rectangular area roughly 300 by 375 feet, except on the eastern and western sides, where great hemicycles 150 feet deep projected outward. In the enclosed area were a dominating triumphal arch and a bronze statue of Trajan.

Around the outer wall were porticoes, and the intercolumnar spaces were filled with statues.

Of all this magnificent imperial building little remains in view today. The Column of Trajan, mentioned above, was, of course, never disturbed. The space around it in the Piazza di Foro Traiano, excavated down to the original level, uncovered bits of the library, of the basilica, and of the forum proper. Across the modern street from this hollow, a portion of the easterly hemicycle of the forum had been partially freed hitherto and known at different times by various fantastic names. This hemicycle it is now the intention of the government entirely to liberate. The hemicycle consisted of two stories of chambers, of brick and travertine construction, which looked out upon the near-by slopes of the Quirinal. The lower rooms undoubtedly served as shops. Mosaics in black and white covered the floors of the chambers, and the walls were adorned with stucco. The semicircular space in front of the hemicycle was paved with huge slabs of white marble. All of this it is hoped to uncover in the near future. The work is being attacked with diligence and should progress very rapidly: for the present, at least, no further demolitions are necessary, and the excavations are going on in an open space behind the building, with entrance at number 31 Piazza di Foro Traiano.

Another feature of the exercises of the day took place at the tomb of the Scipios on the Via Appia, outside the Servian walls. Roman law forbade burial within the limits of the city, and so along the great ways near the gates it became customary to build the tombs of the dead. The noble families of Rome preferred the two roads leading south, the Via Latina and more especially the Via Appia, the *regina viarum*, the great strategic trunk line which struck through the very heart of Italy to Brindisi. Such tombs have been found in great numbers and range all the way from the burial vaults of the poor to the sepulchral monuments of the wealthy. The former are called *columbaria*, due to the fact that the countless little niches in the walls which contained

the burial urns gave them the appearance of dovecotes. These were built by co-operative fraternal burial societies or constructed as business ventures and the niches sold. Tombs of the wealthy and columbaria of the humbler often stood side by side, as here in close proximity along the Appian Way stand the sepulchre of the greatest family of the Republic and in a vineyard hard by a columbarium, one gallery of which could contain six hundred urns.

The Scipio family had its tomb on the Appian Way at its junction with a small cross street which led to the Latin Way. This family had played a leading rôle in the annals of Rome; no other family had given so many famous sons to the state; no important event in the history of the Republic took place without their participation. In their tomb, also, Ennius, the Father of Roman Poetry, was said to have been buried with his great patrons.

This tomb had been discovered in part in 1614. Later Piranesi wrongly identified some structures near the Quo Vadis as the sepulchre of the Scipios. But the really important find came in 1780. In that year the Sassi brothers, who owned the land, were digging the foundations of a wine cellar, when they suddenly came upon the caverns of the tomb. Whether the Scipios had built entirely anew or had adapted an ancient quarry for their tomb can not be determined. At any rate it was hewn out of the solid tufa rock in a series of irregular chambers and connecting passages, through which many a modern visitor has groped with lighted taper. Of the two original stories only the lower remains. The Scipios, as Cicero tells us, held to burial where other Romans cremated, and the tomb when opened was filled with sarcophagi. The Sassi in their eager search for inscriptions and other objects of value altered and deformed the ancient arrangement of the tomb irremediably. The furniture of sarcophagi, bronze inscriptions, amphorae, votive lamps, and ornamental statues was carried away. The generosity of Pius VI helped in the dispersion: Lord Beverly owns a gold ring with a precious stone carved with a figure of Victory, while other objects found shelter in the

museum of the Vatican. Among the latter is the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, consul in 298 B.C., which has upon it the famous inscription in Saturnian meter so valuable for the history of Latin language and literature. The skeleton of one of the heroes was piously collected by a Venetian senator by the name of Quirini and taken to his estate and there buried with a little monument to mark the spot.

Thus mistreatment, plunder, and mere neglect reduced the tomb to a series of grottoes even the plan of which it is difficult now to trace. So far as is scientifically possible the government purposes to repair the damage done in the past. Its archaeologists are making new studies of the site. Instead of the present entrance to the tomb, the ancient façade, which stood on the cross-road, will be uncovered, and, with the aid of the very accurate sketches drawn by the architect Piranesi at the time of the important discovery in 1780 (G. B. Piranesi had unfortunately died before he could learn of his error), the exterior will be restored. It is hoped that the scattered furniture may be re-collected and the skeleton which Quirini buried brought back to the tomb. An ornamental exedra of entrance from the narrow Appian Way is to lead to the garden which contains the sepulchre.

These three activities are merely the focal points chosen by the government for exceptional emphasis on the national holiday. Much else is planned, too detailed for inclusion here. However, the following may be considered as typical. To the east of the Theater of Marcellus, roughly corresponding to the Piazza Montanara, lay the Forum Holitorium. It was, as the name indicates, a vegetable market, hence scarcely mentioned by ancient writers, who devote little space to the economic life of the time. Yet we know from archaeological sources that with its porticoes, temples, and statues it formed a conspicuous ensemble of architectural grandeur. One need only descend to the dark underground meanders of S. Nicola in Carcere to see the foundations of three ancient temples. Cicero connects some of Antony's disgraceful acts with the Porticus Minucia, and here the famous state distribution of grain to the poor took place. The demolitions and

excavations begun with the theater are to be extended in this direction, saving all of artistic value which the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the baroque period have left, as well as the relics of Roman times.

Then, working toward the northeast from the theater, the Campidoglio is to be reached, restoring to view the Tarpeian Rock, while from the northeast, on the opposite side of the Campidoglio, the operations will move southwest, disclosing to a fuller degree the imperial fora and freeing the Capitoline Hill from that side. Digging near the Capitoline will unquestionably be rich in surprises. When these excavations have been entirely completed, Rome will have a *zona monumentale* fully twice as large as the great region of today occupied by the ruins of the old Forum and the Palatine — with the proviso that this section cannot be taken out of the active life of Rome as the former has been.

Other plans contemplate a study of the Augusteo, the Mausoleum of Augustus, which now houses Rome's philharmonic hall, with a view to its possible isolation. Further demolitions are to clear out the space about the Pantheon. A street is being considered from the Via Cavour to the Colosseum, which will give a view of the Flavian amphitheater down to the ground plane. The widening of the Via di Torre Argentina, even now under way, will bring to view the round Temple of Hercules, so called, of which there are conserved intact the podium and several columns, hidden within the houses which will soon disappear. The transformation of the Via del Tritone into the projected Viale Barberini necessitates excavations along a line from the vicinity of the Baths of Diocletian through the Campus Agrippae to the Column of Marcus Aurelius. Rectifications in the Via Viminale, opposite the Royal Opera House, may unearth finds on the Viminal. The more remote construction of buildings for an art center on the ground to the north of the Pincian and the Villa Borghese offers further possibilities. This last operation has the advantage of being on almost virgin soil, speaking from the standpoint of archaeological excavation.



These plans seem pretentious, and one well may wonder whether their accomplishment will be seen in the near future. But there is no question that Rome is passing through one of those periods of great interest in the past which promises well. The leading dailies are carrying articles written by the highest Italian and foreign archaeological authorities. Even the "man in the street" is discussing old Rome. It is no longer a case of eager archaeologists begging money from an unwilling government, but on the contrary commune and state are placing large sums at the disposal of their scholars. During the last year the excavation of the Forum of Augustus has been vigorously carried forward and the isolation of the so-called Temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium has been fully completed. Or to cite the provinces — Ostia arises apace out of the sands, and a large sum of money, furnished by an Italian living abroad, has been turned to the setting up of the columns of Selinunte. Within the year five of these columns have already been re-erected under the direction of the Sicilian scholars, Professors Orsi and Pace.

Professor Giglioli, at the inaugural ceremonies around the hemicycle of the Forum of Trajan, invited his audience to return within a few months, declaring that the work then initiated would be carried through with great rapidity. And Professor Muñoz, in his predictions of speedy accomplishment, calls attention to the fact that the newly created office of *Governatore di Roma* has as its incumbent, in the person of Senator Filippo Cremonesi, one who is no new convert, but "who feels profoundly the importance of these problems because he is a son of our Rome and has set himself to the task, aided by the suitable committees of commune and state, who follow him with affection and sympathy." Never in the history of modern Italy since the early day of Guido Baccelli has the outlook for archaeology been so bright.

## HANNIBAL TRISMEGISTUS <sup>1</sup>

By HUBERT MCNEILL POTEAT  
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Livy informs us that the events preceding and leading up to the founding of Rome are adorned with poetic fancies to the almost complete exclusion of unimpeachable historical data. His attitude toward this very unscholarly condition is, however, in the highest degree complaisant and tolerant, for he opines that the ancients dealt largely in mythology and anthropomorphism from the praiseworthy motive of "making the first beginnings of their cities more august." He then proceeds to the characteristic remark that if any people on the face of the earth had a right to claim divine origin, that people was the *populus Romanus*. But the delicious old romancer strikes a fine pose in the same paragraph of his preface, and announces that he has no idea of attempting either to prove the truth or to expose the falsity of this ancient body of tales. Perhaps the well-known visitor from Mars, upon reading that statement, would conclude, with smug satisfaction, or, mayhap, disgust, that he was about to be regaled with a careful and painstaking collection of known and proven facts, well provided with cross-references, footnotes, and all the other paraphernalia so dear to the hearts of the critical and the microscopically inclined. Of course, he would be disappointed, or, mayhap, delighted, to find myth, heroic legend, preposterous tale, fact, all inextricably intermingled, and glorified by the *lactea ubertas* of a gorgeously colored style, a vivid imagination, and a burning love for Rome.

All the editors and commentators have called attention to Livy's

<sup>1</sup> Read at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Southern Section of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, University of North Carolina, May 7-9, 1925.

notorious carelessness in the use of such sources as were available to him. I think this carelessness was the result of a sort of inherent indifference to absolute accuracy; and also, and more important, of a genuine fondness for embroidering in his own matchless fashion hero tales whose authenticity could not possibly be established, and which would, in point of fact, lose half their glamor if they were subjected to scientific verification. Duff remarks, "He consciously embellishes history with well-told fables." One might add, "and enjoyed the process immensely." I do not think it can be doubted that Livy picked up many of his excellent yarns from that body of legend handed down orally from generation to generation, which assisted so materially in fostering the patriotism and the reverence for ancestors and for the olden time generally, so characteristic of Rome in her days of greatness and power.

Now, of all Rome's enemies, *dirus Hannibal* was far and away the most dreadful. Pyrrhus, Mithridates, Antiochus, Arminius, cannot for a moment be compared with the terrible Carthaginian. Livy's famous character sketch of him is most likely an accurate assembling of popular notions, flavored with the added venom of the historian's own undying hatred of a mere African who for fifteen mortal years scourged Rome and her allies with barbaric and merciless thoroughness.

Surely no general in all human history met and surmounted more or greater obstacles. Consider his army: composed of men speaking different languages, worshiping different gods — or no gods, trained under different codes of law — or none, outlaws, soldiers of fortune, knights of the road; any man who could wield a sword, throw a javelin, whirl a sling, or ride a horse was welcomed. This heterogeneous mob could never have been welded into the mighty army which wrought such havoc in Italy by a general who did not possess superlative gifts of personality and a keen, unerring comprehension of the souls of men.

Again, recall the fact that during his fifteen years of warfare in Italy Hannibal, with this nondescript army, thrashed, one after another, the most skilful generals and the strongest forces the Ro-

mans could muster against him, and finally returned to Carthage undefeated.

Thirdly, his achievement of maintaining his army in the enemy's country for such a long period of time, practically without assistance from home, is unparalleled in military annals, ancient or modern.

These three matters, with others which might be mentioned to the same end, are, of course, perfectly familiar to all of you. I have rehearsed them for the purpose of supplying a background for the point which I am seeking to make in this paper, and to which I now address myself.

It is my belief that there gradually grew up about the terrible figure of the Carthaginian leader a considerable crop of apocryphal stories, which were handed down from generation to generation along with the hero tales of Roman history. Any man who could do to Roman generals and Roman armies the awful things which Hannibal did must be a wizard, a magician, a warlock, in close communion with divers superhuman potencies, and, moreover, able to command them whenever he desired to do so.<sup>2</sup> This sort of notion, it seems to me, might very naturally have crystallized with the passing of years which witnessed an almost unbroken series of Roman triumphs over other formidable foreign enemies. Now Livy, hating Hannibal with a vindictive bitterness surprising in the highest degree, when one considers the fact that the poor African had been in his grave a hundred and fifty years and more, and loving a good story as he did, might reasonably be expected to turn an interested and complaisant ear to these old wives' tales, which had probably lost none of their glamor and vividness with the passing of time. He has, as a matter of fact, I believe, recorded several of them for our delectation. Whether or not he himself realized their inherent improbability or impossibility cannot, of course, be determined, although in the case of at least two of them he professes a mild preference for a more credi-

<sup>2</sup> It is interesting and pleasant to find Mr. Chesterton saying, in his recent book, *The Everlasting Man*, "Hannibal marched down the road to Rome, and the Romans who rushed to war with him felt as if they were fighting a magician."

ble explanation of the achievement under discussion. Permit me to say that I certainly do not expect all of you to agree with me in the interpretations which follow. We may differ, however, and still be friends.

I beg, then, to call your attention to a series of passages arranged in what appears to me climactic order.

In XXI. 28 we find a lively description of the supposed methods by which Hannibal succeeded in transporting his elephants to the east bank of the Rhone:

Some authorities have it that after the elephants had been herded together on the bank, the wildest of them, goaded by his keeper, pursued him when he leaped into the water, and the rest of the herd followed, swimming. Now, when the bottom failed them . . . the very force of the current carried them to the other side.

Livy then signifies a gentle preference for the raft theory, but even at the conclusion of his discussion of it he informs us that some of the great beasts, maddened by their terror, fell off the rafts into the river, were so ponderous that they were *stabiles* — which I take to mean unwashdownstreamable — and managed to reach *terra firma* by picking their steps with meticulous exactitude. Really, Livy might as well have stood by his initial effort; for if a roaring river will convey safely to its eastern shore an elephant which plunges in from the western bank, then it will surely handle likewise another elephant which falls off a raft in midstream. I may say here that the adjective “roaring” is abundantly justified by a phrase at the beginning of the chapter — *cum ingenti sono fluminis*.

At least one solemn editor suggests that there was a sharp bend in the stream at the point where the Carthaginians crossed, and so the current was thrown against the eastern bank. But in chapter 27 we learn that the river was so turbulent and swift that Hannibal was constrained to tame it by sending a line of ships upstream so that the skiffs could cross in safety below. Now that very ingenious manoeuvre (to which allusion will be made later) would never have been attempted, even by such a wonder-worker as Hannibal, at a point where the course of the stream was not straight.



Hannibal's elephants floated across because they were Hannibal's elephants. An ordinary pachyderm would have been seized by the mighty Rhone and tumbled and rolled to the sea like the bodies of the Greeks and Trojans of old in the clutch of Xanthus and Simois.

The second passage to which I call your attention is found in XXI. 35:

On the ninth day they reached the summit of the Alps, after a deal of fruitless wandering and many mistakes caused either by the treachery of their guides or, when the suggestions of these gentry were ignored, by haphazard tramping down divers valleys at the behest of volunteer leaders. On the top of the ridge they camped for two days, and rest was granted the soldiers, who were worn out by toil and by battle. Now several beasts of burden, which had fallen among the rocks, by following the trail of the army came into camp.

It seems a pity that Livy did not make the story complete by adding that when the poor burros arrived, they sat up on their hind legs and barked for their supper!

This particular tale bears its improbability plainly in its face, as it were. Let us consider: A mountain donkey is less subject to slips and falls than any other animal that walks the earth now, or that walked it during the last years of the third century before Christ. If, then, these burros of Hannibal's commissary department fell at all, it is extremely likely that they were forced off the road at points where there was a sheer descent. Nevertheless, burdened as they were, they landed on their feet with feline skill and began presently to make their way back up the face of the cliff over which they had tumbled, found the road and, doubtless in abject terror at the prospect of the general's anger on account of their defection, stuck their noses to the ground, gave a loud and happy yelp when they caught the scent, and eventually presented themselves before their chief just in time to avoid being marked A. W. O. L.

A second point, please. Famous as the burro is for his steadiness on his legs, he possesses another quality far more impressive, namely, his strong aversion to work of any kind. We are asked, in the passage under discussion, to accept the impossible

conclusion that these remarkable donkeys, having slipped and fallen, having landed safely and scrambled up to the road, deliberately, like patriotic soldiers, marched straight back to spine-breaking labor and the scanty dole of food which the commissary afforded them — and uphill, too. Really, it is beyond belief. What those burros did when, after a considerable tumble, they found they were still alive, was very probably to roll around on the ground until the hateful packs slipped off, and then to go whooping *down* toward the lower places, thanking whatever gods their assy minds could think of for freedom, and heartily wishing Hannibal and his whole army, their ancestors and their posterity, at the devil.

But, please to remember, these donkeys were Hannibal's donkeys; hence, Livy is perfectly ready to accept, and to hand down to less credulous future generations, a story about them which does such violence to all the best asinine traditions.

We pass now to XXII. 46. The Battle of Cannae was the most disastrous, from the point of view of casualties, in which Roman armies ever engaged. I think, therefore, that it is not unreasonable to suppose that many legends concerning it gradually took form and gained wide currency. At least two of them, in my opinion, are to be found in this chapter:

It would have been easy to believe the Africans a Roman line, for they were armed with weapons picked up at the Trebia and especially at Trasimene. The Gauls and Spaniards had shields of practically the same type, but their swords were different both in size and shape; for the Gallic weapons were quite long and without points, while the Spaniards, accustomed to attack by thrusting rather than by slashing, had swords conveniently short and provided with sharp points. The appearance of these tribesmen was supremely terrifying, not only because of their giant stature, but also because of the way they looked. The Gauls were naked above the waist; the Spaniards took their stand clad in tunics decorated with purple, and shimmering with a wonderful whiteness.

Let us take the last point first and remark briefly that a company of barbarians going into battle clad in formal morning dress, and that freshly laundered, presents a picture which sub-

jects even the imagination to a severe strain, to say nothing of the reason.

Secondly, Livy, in his evident desire to impress upon his readers the unusually formidable front which the enemy presented, manages to achieve a strange lack of definiteness. *Habitus* and *species* have exactly the same significance, so that the sentence including those two words should really be rendered, "The appearance of these tribesmen was supremely terrifying, not only because of their giant stature, but also because of their appearance!" In other words, they looked simply awful by reason of the fact that they looked simply awful.

Thirdly, this question inevitably arises: Why were the Gauls and Spaniards so preternaturally awe-inspiring on this particular occasion? The Romans had been acquainted with men of these races for a long time, and had, in fact, come into more frequent and intimate contact with them than with some other peoples geographically nearer. *Livy's* only answer to this inquiry is the dark sentence just quoted. It seems to me that the only reasonable explanation is the one already suggested. On the awful day of Cannae (so, we may imagine, went the ancient tale), some malevolent power imparted to a large section of Hannibal's army an aspect of devilish malignancy, an appearance awe-compelling, horrific, deadly. How could Romans, depending upon mere human resources, hope to fight successfully against such odds?

In XXII. 46.9 we learn of another supernatural potency exerted in behalf of Hannibal on the field of Cannae:

Either because the lines were thus drawn up by design, or because they merely happened so to take up their respective positions, the sun fortunately shone obliquely on each army; but the wind which the natives call *Voltumnus*, rising up against the Romans, cut off their view of the scene of action by rolling vast clouds of dust into their faces.

Manifestly the cards were stacked against Varro and Paulus, the game was crooked, the gods were actively hostile. To be sure, this interposition of the elements on behalf of the Carthaginians

is more or less evened up by the remarkable favoritism of a trick hailstorm of which Livy tells us in XXVI. 11. The terrible son of Hamilcar was at last in sight of the walls of Rome:

On the next day Hannibal crossed the Anio and drew up all his forces in battle array, nor did Flaccus and the consuls decline the proffered engagement. When both armies were ready to determine the result of a contest in which the city of Rome would be the victor's prize, a terrible storm of rain and hail so confused both lines that, holding to their weapons with some difficulty, they managed to get back into camp, their fear of the enemy being the least of their terrors. And on the next day, when the lines had been drawn up again in the same place, the same storm [*eadem tempestas*] fell upon them. But when they had retreated to their tents, a remarkable serenity with tranquillity ensued. This circumstance was regarded by the Carthaginians as an unfavorable omen.

Soon afterwards they returned to their base in the south. It would appear, therefore, that meteorological favors were fairly impartially distributed!

Let us return now to Book XXI and consider a passage in chapter 27, wherein we learn of a very curious bout between the Carthaginian leader and the river Rhone:

When Hannibal learned this, [namely, that Hanno and his myrmidons had successfully carried out their instructions to cross farther upstream and to take up a position at the rear of the enemy's camp] that he might not be missing when the hour for action arrived, he gave the signal for crossing the river. The infantry had skiffs ready, properly equipped; the cavalry, larger boats, on account of the horses. By sending across a line of ships to break the force of the current above, he guaranteed a peaceful voyage to the skiffs [literally, "he supplied tranquillity"].

Editors and commentators differ in their explanation of the precise method whereby this particular miracle was achieved. One group holds that the line of ships referred to is the fleet in which the cavalry was accommodated — merely sent across above the skiffs in order to serve as a breakwater, while another company stoutly maintains that the *navium agmen* was a stationary affair, somehow maintained in nice alignment above the peacefully advancing skiffs. Both explanations are utterly incredible,

although the second somewhat transcends its fellow. A third confraternity of editors is discreetly and suggestively silent.

There are at least two bits of internal evidence which appear to show that by *navium agmen* the fleet which conveyed the cavalry across the stream is meant. First, the preceding sentence concludes with the word *naves*, so that its successor, beginning with *navium agmen*, might well be rendered, "Now this line of ships," etc. Second, if Livy had had in mind a continuous, stationary line, he would likely have used *acies* instead of *agmen*. On the other hand, there is in the passage a startling inconsistency which points to the second theory. In section 9 we read: "The infantry had skiffs ready, properly equipped; the cavalry, larger boats [*ferē naves*] on account of the horses." But in section 10, three lines below, we learn that most of the horses were pulled along through the water by bridles.

Let us examine both theories, briefly.

The Carthaginians crossed the Rhone about forty miles inland, where the river is deep and very swift. Ancient ships — even the best of them — were of slight draught, and Hannibal's made-to-order navy must have been bird-like in the extreme. The ships bearing the cavalry — according to the former theory — must have traveled more rapidly than the laboring skiffs; but, in order to derive the slightest benefit from the retarded current, each skiff would have been compelled to move immediately under the lee of its protecting ship, which position would have been not only perilous in the highest degree to the men and beasts on both vessels, but could not possibly have been maintained all the way across the river because of the discrepancy in the speed of the respective craft.

The second theory is even more hopeless. We are asked by the editors who sponsor it to believe that a stationary line of frail cockle-shells was, by some superhuman means, held beam on across the mighty bosom of the river, which obligingly backed up so completely that below the tiny barrier there was *tranquillitas*. In XXI. 47 Livy tells us that Coelius is authority for the statement that Mago with the cavalry and the Spaniards swam the Po,



while Hannibal with the main body of the army crossed the stream farther up, where the water was shallow, after planting a row of elephants in line *ad sustinendum impetum fluminis*. One dear old editor comments thus: "The elephants were so placed that the violence of the current was broken on their colossal bodies." But Livy doesn't believe the story, for he continues:

Those who are acquainted with the river can scarcely credit this narrative, for it is very unlikely that the cavalry could have contended successfully against the current without the loss of their weapons and their horses, even if we grant that all the Spaniards sailed over on inflated wine-skins; furthermore, a journey of many days would have been necessary to reach the shallows of the Po, where an army laden with baggage could have been transported. Those authorities have more weight with me who insist that within two days a place was found with some difficulty where the troops could be sent across on rafts.

Now, if Livy found himself unable to believe that elephants could check the feeble strength of the Po in its upper reaches, it is difficult to see how he could solemnly have handed down to posterity so impossible a picture as the second interpretation of the passage in question suggests.

One further consideration: Even if we accept the impossible possibility of the establishment of a nicely aligned row of ships, beam on and yet graciously refraining from smashing one another to pieces, we must allow that Hannibal possessed enough common sense to know that when a dam is constructed the place to look for tranquillity is not below the dam, but above it.

One wonders why Livy wasted so much energy in describing a mighty struggle with a river which took elephants gently to its bosom and conveyed them carefully across to its eastern bank without any particular effort on their part. Surely this most complaisant stream would have taken just as good care of the rest of Hannibal's army as it did of the tanks, if it had been given half a chance, and the Carthaginians would have been spared a vast amount of labor, time, and trouble. In short, neither interpretation of the passage succeeds in the smallest degree in explaining this inexplicable and very characteristic Livian story.

Finally — and all of you, I am sure, have been wondering how soon this episode would be introduced — there is the marvelous road-building performance on the summit of the Alps. I quote from XXI. 37:

At last, when men and beasts had been worn out to no purpose, camp was made on the summit, after a place had been cleared with great difficulty, on account of the vast quantity of snow which had to be dug up and carried away. Then soldiers were detailed to make passable the cliff over which was the only possible descent; and, since the rock had to be cut, they felled and split up numerous large trees,<sup>3</sup> made a great heap of logs, and when a wind strong enough to fan the flames had arisen, they kindled the pile and softened the hot rocks by pouring acid over them. Finally, with iron implements they shattered the fire-heated cliff and softened the precipice by means of gentle windings, so that not only the beasts of burden, but even the elephants could descend.

Editors generally have realized the utter impossibility of this yarn, considered from any one of several points of view, although there is a contemporary commentator in whose edition we read: "This method of rendering rocks friable was not uncommon among the ancients . . . and dashing water upon heated rocks has been used for this purpose also in modern times. The amount of *acetum* (*posca*, or sour wine) need not have been large, when added to the water from the melting snow, for disintegrating *ardentia saxa*, especially if they were limestone. . . . On the whole it may be concluded that Livy's account, though it is not impossible, is not very probable."<sup>4</sup>

To my mind, the fact that so important an achievement as the construction of this road is not mentioned by Polybius is conclusive proof that the whole story is pure myth. It may be further noted that, as one editor points out, not only is Polybius "silent on the subject," but "he complains (III. 47, 48) that many falsehoods were current in regard to the passage of the Alps."

Livy himself is difficult and inconsistent in his description of the

<sup>3</sup> One editor renders *deiectis detruncatisque* by "cut down and cut up."

<sup>4</sup> The *Classical Weekly*, XVI, 10 and XVIII, 11 may also be read with profit in this connection.

achievement. In XXI. 36.1 we learn that when the army arrived at the cliff a light-armed soldier let himself down over the face of the precipice with great difficulty by clinging to shrubs and roots. Some fifteen lines farther down, in section 7, Livy informs us that along the detour attempted by Hannibal there were no shrubs or roots to which one might cling. It may possibly be objected that the top of the mountain and the detour were two different places. I reply by quoting section 4: "There seemed no doubt that he must lead his army around through pathless and hitherto untrodden ways, no matter how long the circuit. But this road was impassable." Well, if it was impassable, the distance the army traveled over it must have been negligible, and the two places were virtually one.

Again in 37.2 we read about the felling and splitting up of great trees. But seven lines away, in section 4, the statement is made that the summits were practically bare!

Editors differ in their translation of *aceto*. Some think it signifies vinegar; others, sour wine or vinegar-water (*posca*), such as the soldiers drank. One of the most interesting of the voyages of Lemuel Gulliver was the trip to Laputa. On the way home he visited Glubbudbrib, which, as he says, "signifies the island of sorcerers or magicians." He proceeds: "His Highness the governor ordered me 'to call up whatever persons I would choose to name, and in whatever numbers, among all the dead from the beginning of the world to the present time, and command them to answer any questions I should think fit to ask; with this condition, that my questions must be confined within the compass of the times they lived in. And one thing I might depend upon, that they would certainly tell me the truth, for lying was a talent of no use in the lower world.'"

Gulliver then describes how he called up Alexander the Great, who assured him "upon his honor 'that he was not poisoned, but died of a bad fever, by excessive drinking'. Next," continues the doughty traveller, "I saw Hannibal passing the Alps, who told me 'he had not a drop of vinegar in his camp.'" Old Gulliver, *splendide mendax* though he is, may at this point, I believe,

be implicitly trusted. It is utterly impossible to conceive of a general lugging vinegar, or even sour wine, for that matter, in sufficient quantities to accomplish the miracle described so graphically and yet so inconsistently by our author.

One further and even more important point. Livy says, in 36.2, "The place, already steep, had been broken off short by a recent avalanche to a depth of fully a thousand feet." In other words, one thousand feet of road had been swept away. Now, even if a great fire had been kindled upon the upper edge of this precipice, its heat could not possibly have penetrated the cliff to any considerable distance. We are asked, in fine, to believe that the burning of a huge heap of logs at the *top* of a sheer cliff, and the pouring of vinegar or sour wine on the heated stone, made the whole cliff friable, so that the soldiers, with their spears or other iron implements, were able to cut and chip out a gently winding piece of road a thousand feet long, over which men, beasts — and Hannibal — passed in relative comfort.

The story, as a story, is surely one of Livy's best; and like the others mentioned in this paper, it clearly proves, I believe, that the great Carthaginian was, in legend and popular imagination, really and truly *Hannibal Trismegistus*.

## A LETTER FROM BABYLON

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Readers of an article by Marguerite Kretschmer in the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*<sup>1</sup> will remember agreeably its reminiscences of the Petrine monuments of Rome, and of the popular legends that entwined the ancient tradition of St. Peter's presence there. If in one or two places the writer seemed to pass summary judgment on the tradition itself, she would nevertheless be the first to welcome suitable discussion.

The First Epistle of St. Peter, since it is familiar and of early date, offers perhaps an attractive subject matter. Its Roman origin is generally upheld by modern scholars;<sup>2</sup> but the argument is commonly so far compressed as to be largely presupposed. Nor can it be in its full extent presented here; certain preliminary and extrinsic items of the evidence, however, may be indicated.

The perspective of this very limited inquiry, as it relates to the general question of St. Peter's connection with Rome, will appear in a tabloid statement of certain facts. From the latter years of the second century, the belief that St. Peter had labored in Rome, and had suffered martyrdom there, ran everywhere: Tertullian in Africa, Clement of Alexandria in Egypt, Irenaeus in Gaul, Dionysius in Corinth, bear witness to a tradition which no voice anywhere was raised to deny. That this belief originated not later than the middle of the second century — within one long

<sup>1</sup> "St. Peter at Rome," in the April number, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., F. H. Chase, "Peter, First Epistle of," in Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*; F. Sieffert, "Petrus, der Apostel," in Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie*, and "Peter the Apostle, II Writings" in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyc. of Religious Knowledge*; S. J. Case, "Peter, Epistles of," in Hastings, *Dict. of the Apostolic Church*; K. Lake, "Peter, Epistles of" in *Encyc. Brit.* (11th ed.). *E contra*, E. T. Merrill, *Essays in Early Christian History* (London, 1924), 279-283.



life-time of the Apostles, and a short life-time of the generation that survived them — it is, on the basis of these direct testimonies, permissible to conclude. For the later Apostolic Age itself formal and contemporary records do not exist: whatever contemporary or sub-contemporary evidence remains, is fragmentary and indirect. We consider a valuable item of it in the First Epistle.

The authenticity of that document has been controverted by Harnack on the ground of the Pauline influence he finds present; and Professor McGiffert has developed this view in his suggestion that Barnabas may be the author.<sup>3</sup> But the evidence for genuineness is strong; and even those who entertain the contrary position would admit or even maintain the importance of so early a document for the current belief of Christians about St. Peter.

Let us broach at once the famous question of the place-date: ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή: "She who in Babylon shareth the common election sends you greeting."<sup>4</sup> The early versions and commentaries agree that the Christian community, the ἐκκλησία, is here to be understood. Ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή would be an oddly elaborate allusion to an individual and private person, particularly in a passage which names without ado the other sender of greeting, Μάρκος, ὁ υἱός μου. The feminine personification of a community is, on the other hand, a familiar use in Old and New Testament alike. With the quality of another word we are more concerned: is Babylon to be understood literally; or does Babylon mean Rome?

# I

The name speaks to us first of all of the ancient city on the Euphrates. That city has a prior claim to the rôle in St. Peter's salutation, if it can sustain the part. What can be known of its inhabitants in the second half of the first century of the Christian era?

A hundred years earlier, Mithradates III, driven from his

<sup>3</sup> A. C. McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* (revised ed., New York, 1906), 598-600.

<sup>4</sup> I Pet. 5: 13.

Parthian throne, fled from his brother, Orodes, into Babylon. *Babyloniam . . . diu obsidet (sc. Orodes) et fame coactos ad deditionem oppidanos compellit.*<sup>5</sup>

But the town was already in advanced decay. The successors of Alexander, writes Strabo, had consistently fostered their new foundation of Seleucia at the expense of fallen Babylon: καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἡ μὲν γέγονε Βαβυλῶνος μείζων, ἡ δ' ἔρημος ἡ πολλή, ὥστ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς μὴ ἂν ὀκνήσαι τινα εἰπεῖν, ὅπερ ἔφη τις τῶν κωμικῶν ἐπὶ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ.

ἐρημία μεγάλη ὅτιν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις.<sup>6</sup>

Strabo's account applies to a period obviously not later than that of Augustus: probably he follows a source yet earlier.<sup>7</sup> With his picture tallies the more precise statement of Diodorus Siculus: καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βαβυλῶνος νῦν βραχὺ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ἐντὸς τείχους γεωργεῖται.<sup>8</sup>

Pliny the Elder, just contemporary with St. Peter, recalls Babylon's ancient grandeur in contrast with her now fallen estate: *Diu summam claritatem inter urbes obtinuit in toto orbe . . . durat adhuc ibi Iovis Beli templum . . . cetero ad solitudinem rediit exhausta vicinitate Seleucia.*<sup>9</sup>

Cassius Dio, in the epitome of Xiphilinus, relates a visit of Trajan to Babylon.<sup>10</sup> He found nothing worthy of its name, however, but only χώματα καὶ λίθους καὶ ἐρείπια.<sup>11</sup> Lucian and Pausanias allude to Babylon by way of rounding a catalogue of cities long since desolate.<sup>12</sup>

The general tenor of these authors suggests a scanty remnant of population on the ancient site in Pliny's and St. Peter's time. Josephus has been understood to vouch for a notable Jewish

<sup>5</sup> Justinus xlii. 4. 2. B.C. 54.

<sup>6</sup> xvi. 1. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Pauly-Wissowa, art. "Babylon," col. 2681. Cf. Bunbury, *Hist. of Anc. Geog.*, II, 316, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> ii. 9. B. C. ca. 40.

<sup>9</sup> *N. H.* vi. 121-122.

<sup>10</sup> *A. D.* ca. 115.

<sup>11</sup> lxxviii. 30. 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Charon* 23. *Descriptio* viii. 33.

element there. In the days of Herod the Great,<sup>13</sup> he says, the high-priest, Hyrcanus, was released by his Parthian captors and allowed to dwell ἐν Βαβυλῶνι . . . ἔνθα καὶ πλῆθος ἦν Ἰουδαίων. οὗτοι τὸν Ὑρκανὸν ἐτίμων ὡς ἀρχιερέα καὶ βασιλέα καὶ πᾶν τὸ μέχρις Εὐφράτου νεμόμενον Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος.<sup>14</sup>

Whiston's note to this passage identifies Babylon with a new settlement adjacent to Seleucia on the Tigris. Professor Bacher, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Budapest, implies Nehardea, which was certainly the chief city of the Jews in Babylonia.<sup>15</sup> If the original city is out of the question, I should be disposed to understand the satrapy.

Philo has a comparable statement on the general dispersion of Jewish settlers beyond the Euphrates: πᾶσαι γὰρ (sc. χώραι) ἔξω μέρους βραχέος, Βαβυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν αἱ ἀρετῶσαν ἔχουσαι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ γῆν Ἰουδαίους ἔχουσιν οἰκήτορας.<sup>16</sup> Babylon and the best of the surrounding satrapies have Jewish inhabitants. Βαβυλῶν for Βαβυλωνία is an acknowledged use of the Septuagint and of the New Testament. It is clearly indicated here.

Another passage in Josephus is the necessary complement of these citations that regard the Jews. In the time of Caligula,<sup>17</sup> he writes, the Jews of Babylon, afflicted by persecution, fled to Seleucia, where they remained five years: τῷ δ' ἔκτῳ ἔτει μεθ' ὃ τὸ πόλεως] καὶ δι' αὐτὴν ἀφιξίς εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, ἐκδέχεται μείζων πρῶτον φθορὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἐγένετο αὐτῶν [καὶ καιναὶ κτίσεις ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦς συμφορὰ δι' αἰτίαν ἣν ἀφηγήσομαι.<sup>18</sup>

The greater calamity, in the form of further persecutions, drove the fugitives from Seleucia to Ctesiphon, and finally back to their own cities of Nehardea and Nisibis. The eighteenth book of *The Antiquities*, after relating these things, has the clos-

<sup>13</sup> B. C. 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Antiq.* xv. 2. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Jewish Encyc.*, art. "Nehardea."

<sup>16</sup> *Legatio ad Gaium* 36. Cohn and Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera* vi. 206-207. (Berlin, 1915.)

<sup>17</sup> A. D. 37-41.

<sup>18</sup> *Antiq.* xviii. 9. 8-9. (Ed. by Naber, Leipzig, 1893. Niese retains the bracketed reading, Berlin, 1890.)

ing words: καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ κατῳκημένους τοιαῦτα ἦν.<sup>19</sup>

We have no evidence for any considerable settlement of Jews on the site of Babylon thereafter.

With this, the Babylon of our sources, no cities could offer sharper contrast than the characteristic centres of contemporary apostolic activity in the west — Jerusalem, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth, Rome. In Mesopotamia, too, she had flourishing contemporaries — Seleucia and Nehardea in the south, Arbela and Edessa in the north. In the depopulated relic of Chaldean grandeurs we cannot verify probable setting for an early Christian church, presided over by the Apostle Peter, with such veterans as Mark and Silas at his side.

## II

Yet the improbable is not to be rejected if there is evidence to prove it. We interrogate the oldest tradition of Eastern Christianity. What chiefly strikes one who is on the trail of a possibly genuine tradition about St. Peter, is the universal consent with which the Eastern Christians, Nestorians, Monophysites, Armenians, in their liturgies, saints' lives, commentaries on Scripture and on canon law, affirm his apostolic labors and martyrdom in Rome.<sup>20</sup> Not until the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are Nestorian writers found who date the First Epistle from Mesopotamia, which, they suppose, St. Peter had visited before his voyage to Rome.<sup>21</sup> The notion is self-evidently derived from the letter of the text containing the name, Babylon. In Coptic manuscripts of the New Testament from the same period an exact analogy appears: Babylon is there Egyptian.<sup>22</sup> Such eponymous identifications are curious: they have clearly no evidential

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, xviii. 9. 9.

<sup>20</sup> As, with some modern exceptions, do the Orthodox Greeks and Russians. Professor Merrill has had the misfortune to state the contrary, in *Essays in Early Christian History*, 269, f.n., and 332.

<sup>21</sup> Ischou-iab, Metropolitan of Nisibis, and Amrou-ben-Matai. See Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, III, i, 587; ii, 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> *The Coptic Version of the New Testament* (Oxford, 1905), IV, 65, on I Pet. 5:13. For description and dating of MSS, see III, xvii, xxxix.

worth. If a Petrine foundation did exist on the Euphrates, it left no echo in the tradition of the East.<sup>23</sup>

### III

One writer who may be styled ancient, Cosmas of Alexandria, surnamed Indicopleustes for his travels, hazarded the literal interpretation. His *Christian Topography*<sup>24</sup> was chiefly concerned with refuting the pernicious error of the earth's sphericity. But the argument is interspersed with positive information, some of which is useful. This includes interesting references to the contemporary state of Christianity in Mesopotamia. If Cosmas asserted or implied some established tradition there as the source of his remark on the First Epistle, we should be impressed. This is not the case. It is a bit of *obiter* exegesis, adduced to support a theory. The Persians, Cosmas considered, enjoyed certain mystical prerogatives in the Christian dispensation, second only to those of the Roman Empire. They received special favor even in the first days of the Gospel: ἐν τῇ γὰρ Ῥωμαίων γῇ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων διέδραμε τὸ Χριστιανικὸν κήρυγμα· καὶ εὐθέως πάλιν ἐν Περσίδι διὰ Θαδδαίου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καθολικαῖς γέγραπται· ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή.<sup>25</sup>

Cosmas elsewhere slights the Catholic Epistles as of compromised authority. He knew, however, that the authenticity of the First Epistle of St. Peter was highly attested;<sup>26</sup> and Peter he extolls in the usual terms: ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν οὐρανῶν πιστευθεῖς, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ὁμολογίᾳ τεθεμελιωμένην ἔχων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . .<sup>27</sup>

It is odd then that in the passage about Persia's prerogatives he names Thaddeus and omits Peter, depending by preference upon

<sup>23</sup> That tradition is discussed with copious documentation from the sources, in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* (Paris, 1873), XIII, 5-107: "Saint Pierre, sa venue et son martyre à Rome," by P. Martin. Cf. T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament* (from the 3d German ed., Edinburgh, 1909), II, 159; 163-5.

<sup>24</sup> A. D. ca. 548.

<sup>25</sup> Migne, *Patr. Graec.* lxxxviii. 113.

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, 373.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, 293.



the bare suggestion of the text in which Babylon occurs. Cosmas treats the general tradition of St. Peter's Roman apostolate and martyrdom as certain.<sup>28</sup>

## IV

As in the pursuit of many a fugitive point in Christian origins, so in this it is to the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius — *das unvergleichlich wichtige Werk*, Mommsen calls it — that one looks for the earliest evidence and the best. The ten books appeared in their final form about the year 325. Their peculiar value lies in the rich inlay from sources mined by the author in the libraries of Palestine in the years preceding the Diocletian persecution, and at that time destroyed. We have chiefly to regard a passage on the origin of the Gospel according to St. Mark. It is in fact, says Eusebius, the preaching of Peter, committed to writing at the request of the faithful at Rome. They addressed their importunities to Mark, ἀκόλουθος Πέτρου, with great urgency and with eventual success. Eusebius specifies his principal sources: Κλήμης ἐν ἑκτῷ τῶν Ὑποτυπώσεων παρατίθεται τὴν ἱστορίαν, συνεπιμαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Ἱεραπολίτης ἐπίσκοπος ὀνόματι Παπίας. τοῦ δὲ Μάρκου μνημονεύειν τὸν Πέτρον ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐπιστολῇ ἣν καὶ συντάξαι φασὶν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης, σημαίνειν τε τοῦτ' αὐτόν, τὴν πόλιν τροπικώτερον Βαβυλῶνα προσειπόντα . . .<sup>29</sup>

Elsewhere, and in other connection, Eusebius quotes passages such as he must have had in mind, both from Clement and from Papias.<sup>30</sup> Clement has the Roman episode in full, with an irrelevant variation of detail.<sup>31</sup> Papias, too, said that Mark wrote from St. Peter's preaching; but no reference to place is quoted from him.<sup>32</sup> Eusebius notes expressly that Papias used quotations from the First Epistle of St. Peter. He had earlier transcribed Papias' testimony to the important oral sources of his

<sup>28</sup> *Op. cit.*, 289.

<sup>29</sup> *H. E.* ii. 15. 2. (Schwartz's edition, in *Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte*, Leipzig, 1903-1909, I, 140.)

<sup>30</sup> *C.* of Alexandria, ca. 150-ca. 215. Papias, ca. 75-ca. 150.

<sup>31</sup> *H. E.* vi. 14. 5-6. Schwartz, II, 550.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, iii, 39. 15, 17. Schwartz, I, 290-292.

time — men who had heard the Apostles, Peter and the rest.<sup>33</sup>

Rufinus of Aquileia, who translated the *Ecclesiastical History* into Latin some seventy years after its appearance in Greek, made Papias definitely responsible for the detail about Babylon. His version of the Greek already quoted is as follows: *Clemens in sexto Dispositionum libro haec ita gesta esse describit, cuique simile dat testimonium etiam Hierapolites episcopus nomine Papias, qui et hoc dicit, quod Petrus in prima epistula sua, quam de urbe Roma scribit, meminerit Marci, in qua tropice Romam Babylonam nominarit* . . .<sup>34</sup>

Rufinus translates as if he had φησί for φασι in the original; but Rufinus innovates freely; and the text with φασι appears to be unexceptionable. It is Eusebius' regular word for transmitting information which he himself had by report.

The Eusebian reference to the Roman origin of the First Epistle testifies to a tradition judged worthy of record by an earnest student of Christian origins at a time when valuable sources lost to us were in his hands, among them notices of the work in question as old as Papias, the contemporary of contemporaries of the Apostles. This, the oldest extrinsic evidence for the location of St. Peter's Babylon, is a valuable clew — the only positive clew of value outside the contents of the document itself. An analysis of the internal evidence would be the requisite complement of this moiety.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, iii. 39. 1-4. Schwartz, I, 284-286.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, ii. 15. 2. Schwartz, I, 140.

## PLATO AS A CONTEMPORARY ESSAYIST

By JOSEPH E. BAKER  
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One statesman reads Plato and gathers from *Republic* and *Laws* lessons of momentous importance for the conduct of the commonwealth. Another reads Plato and vows that he has carried away nothing except Eryximachus' remedy for hiccups, so dramatically introduced in the Symposium.

— GILDERSLEEVE

I am not a statesman, so my discoveries in the *Republic* have not been confined to political measures, nor indeed to household hints. Rather on almost all phases of modern life I have found Plato one of the most interesting of writers. In Jowett's translation is preserved a style as racy and flowing as Carl Van Doren's. But the most astounding of his contemporary qualities lies in his discussion of ideas that are agitating the books of the season.

Socrates and his friends, with their "all-night sessions," their interminable and inconclusive arguments about the fundamental questions of human life, can probably best be appreciated by a student who has found himself staying up, to the wee small hours, to settle the problems of cause, of social structure, of style, of morality. The whole setting of the *Republic* brings to my mind the time a group of us sat so long over our coffee and waffles at Andy's that the cook went to sleep grumbling about our long stay. And our subject, peculiarly, was the thesis that the ideal organization of society would be that of the caste system, each man contented with his position, and the social ambitions gone. I tried to maintain that the desire to better one's class was a fruitful source of unhappiness. Had I previously read the *Republic* perhaps I would not have been so unanimously defeated.

But not in that question alone have our discussions unconsciously paralleled Plato's. He is as pat and timely as the *Mercury*,

or even as *Vanity Fair*, "always a jump ahead of the moment." If he treated these problems of state, of psychology, of art, of ethics, in the pious moralism of Cicero or the poetic miscomprehension of Shakespeare, we would be justified in looking upon him as an ancient; but when he discusses religion with a freer spirit than the Modernists, when he embodies the theory that "might makes right" in a very Menckinish person so that it may be refuted, when he argues for the absolute equality of women and the single moral standard, when he criticizes popular stupidity from the standpoint of Sinclair Lewis and assails democracy with a more scathing irony than Edgar Lee Masters, when he proposes a state more communistic than the most advanced economists would advocate, there is nothing left but to let Plato join our discussions, not as an oracle but as an active, lively intelligence, ready to appreciate the defects of his own ideas or to press his convictions with pleasant humor, earnest enthusiasm, and the fruit of a genial observance of the peculiarities of society.

And if he seems to be a trifle Mid-Victorian in his advocacy of censorship, we will read S. P. Sherman. If his criticism of jazz offends our all-inclusive acceptance of the new, we will look into the matter and admit that perhaps his psychology is sounder than ours. And we enjoy the joke on ourselves when he says:

"There is danger lest they should taste the dear delight [of dialectic] too early; for youngsters, as you may have observed, when they first get the taste in their mouths, argue for amusement, and are always contradicting and refuting others in imitation of those who refute them; like puppy-dogs they rejoice in pulling and tearing at all who come near them."

"Yes," he said, "there is nothing which they like better."

"And when they have made many conquests and received defeats at the hands of many, they violently and speedily get into a way of not believing anything which they believed before, and hence, not only they, but philosophy and all that relates to it is apt to have a bad name with the rest of the world."

This summer I argued long with an aluminum salesman, trying to convince him of the distinction between professions and commerce, in that the professional man was most interested in doing

his work well, as long as the world paid him enough to keep him comfortable, while on the other hand the salesman can have no interest in his work *per se* but must have constantly before his mind the sordid purpose of getting as much money from his victim as possible. Actually I was astonished to see the same idea discussed in the *Republic*, with some of the identical arguments we had used:

Nor would you say that medicine is the art of receiving pay because a man takes fees when he is engaged in healing.

Had my opponent hit upon the suggestion of Thrasymachus that the practice of an art was never for itself, but, in the more complex situation, deferred collecting the material reward so far that such appeared to be the case — had he hit upon this idea I imagine I, like Socrates, would have found it advisable to guide the discussion away from the dangerous ground.

But if Plato is so contemporary, why should I speak for him? Let his own words prove the point. I shall first give a few epigrams or witty comments, some of them consciously so, some merely so because the centuries have shifted our viewpoint. Probably Plato meant no joke when he said:

— he will be most ready to play the part of the good man when he is acting firmly and wisely; in a less degree when he is overtaken by illness or love or drink, or has met with any other disaster.

or when he says:

I have hardly ever known a mathematician who was capable of reasoning —

an interesting commentary upon the contention that Plato approached philosophy as a mathematician.

But one feels that Plato meant the sting in his description of the man whose

"life has neither law nor order, and this distracted existence he terms joy and bliss and freedom; and so he goes on."

"Yes," he replied, "he is all liberty and equality."

or in his amusing description of the false philosopher as a bald



little tinker seeking the hand of the daughter of his master recently bankrupt.

The problem of free will is discussed in much the contemporary American fashion. Reading the discussion of the power of choice allowed the souls who are choosing which life upon earth to adopt, one feels that Plato would agree with most of us in saying that "A man has his own decision to make. And that decision is absolutely determined by his past education and environment. In his choice however he is free." Make sense of it if you can. We don't, Plato didn't. Plato was shrewd enough to see through the blind of a word. He did not misunderstand the meaning of courage, for example:

We were contriving influences which would prepare them to take the dye of the laws in perfection, and the color of their opinion about dangers and of every other opinion was to be indelibly fixed by their nurture and training, not to be washed away by such potent lyes as pleasure . . . or by sorrow, fear and desire. . . . And this sort of universal saving power of true opinion in conformity with law about real and false dangers I call and maintain to be courage.

He has a profound insight into human nature. I call attention to but one story, that of the family in which the father does not make enough money to let the family live in the manner that the mother thinks well, and in which the mother teaches the son to seek more material rewards from life. The incident is sketched in only a few dozen words, and it is mixed up in a very far-fetched analogy, and the mother receives Plato's condemnation, but there is the essence of at least one novel in that paragraph. But it is as an essayist that Plato rivals our contemporary in his own field. For instance, his little essay upon —

#### Jazz

"For any musical innovation is full of danger to the whole State, and ought to be prohibited . . . when the modes of music change, the fundamental laws of the State always change with them. . . ."

"Yes," he said, "the lawlessness of which you speak too easily steals in."

"Yes," I replied, "in the form of amusement; and at first sight it appears harmless."

"Why yes," he said, "and there is no harm; were it not that little by little this spirit of license, finding a home, imperceptibly penetrates into manners and customs; whence, issuing with greater force, it invades contracts between man and man, and from contracts goes on to laws and constitutions, in utter recklessness, ending at last, Socrates, by an overthrow of all rights, private as well as public."

Of the random shrewd remarks I wish to quote another:

This [the intelligent] being the class out of which come the men who are the authors of the greatest evil to States and individuals; and also of the greatest good when the tide carries them in that direction; *but a small man never was the doer of any great thing* either to individuals or to States.

How he justly criticizes the phlegmatic temperament:

Those steadfast natures which can better be depended upon, which in a battle are impregnable to fear and immovable, are equally immovable when there is anything to be learned; they are apt to yawn and go to sleep over any intellectual toil.

This opens up a question, or rather a series of observations upon various phases of university life, that I wish to use as samples of Plato's college-paper-editorial timeliness. Consider his contrast of the artist and the athlete:

"If the element of spirit is naturally weak in him, the change is speedily accomplished, but if he have a good deal, then the power of music [including literature] weakening the spirit renders him excitable; on the least provocation he flames up at once, and is speedily extinguished; instead of having spirit he grows irritable and passionate and is quite impracticable."

"Exactly."

"And so in gymnastics, if a man takes violent exercise and is a great feeder, and the reverse of a great student of music and philosophy, at first the high condition of his body fills him with pride and spirit, and he becomes twice the man that he was."

"Certainly."

"And what happens? if he do nothing else, and holds no converse with the Muses, does not even that intelligence which there may be in

him, having no taste of any sort of learning or inquiry or thought or culture, grow feeble and dull and blind, his mind never waking up or receiving nourishment, and his senses not being purged of their mists?"

Of course the ideal man would have "a peculiar power of thinking before he acts, and of acting too," to change a pronoun or so in *Thucydides'* statement of the Athenian boast.

Plato holds with some of the most advanced of educators that:

A freeman ought not to be a slave in the acquisition of knowledge of any kind. Bodily exercise, when compulsory, does no harm to the body; but knowledge which is acquired under compulsion obtains no hold on the mind . . . let early education be a sort of amusement; you will then be better able to find out the natural bent.

The same practice may be followed . . . labors, lessons, dangers — and he who is most at home in all of them ought to be enrolled in a select number.

And he approves of propaganda to achieve his purposes. Frankly he discusses the value of telling the people lies in order to achieve certain ends in state policy. He would be at home in Washington.

In his discussion of these problems of education, both in the school and in the state, he shows a much more modern spirit than most of our professional educators, who indeed care little for fundamental concepts. They consider it their business to take the conclusions of real scholars, the works of creators, the experiences of the race, and pass them on without change to the new generations. Plato would never be satisfied with "handing on the torch of learning"; he would insist upon improving the flame until it equalled an ideal candle-power — and if the resulting light were too dazzling for the use of men, he would sublimely contend that:

The world cannot possibly be a philosopher [and] philosophers must inevitably fall under the censure of the world.

He would point out, concerning these men:

"Those who belong to this small class have tasted how sweet and

blessed a possession philosophy is, and have also seen enough of the madness of the multitude; and they know that no politician is honest, nor is there any champion of justice at whose side they may fight and be saved. . . . He is like one who, in the storm of dust and sleet which the driving wind hurries along, retires under the shelter of a wall; and seeing the rest of mankind full of wickedness, he is content, if only he can live his own life and be pure from evil and unrighteousness, and depart in peace and good-will, with bright hopes."

"Yes," he said, "and he will have done a great work before he departs."

"A great work — yes; *but not the greatest unless he find a State suitable to him*; for in a State which is suitable to him, *he will have a larger growth* and be the savior of his country, as well as of himself."

In this consideration of the "ivory-tower" theory of life as not so desirable as the realization of the complete man in his relation to society, he expresses the typical Greek attitude and represents the difference of thought between the Twentieth Century and the *Fin de Siècle*. Looked at from the viewpoint of the state instead of the individual it presents this aspect:

"Then . . . the business of us who are the founders of the State will be to compel the best minds to attain that knowledge which we have already shown to be the greatest of all — they must continue to ascend until they arrive at the good . . . they must be made to descend again among the prisoners in the den, and partake of their labors and honors, whether they are worth having or not."

"But is not this unjust?" he said; "*ought we to give them a worse life when they might have a better?*"

"You have again forgotten, my friend," I said, "the intention of the legislator, who did not aim at making any one class in the State happy above the rest; *the happiness was to be in the whole state.*"

"*We have brought you into the world to be rulers of the hive, kings of yourselves and of the other citizens, and have educated you far better and more perfectly than they have been educated . . .* whereas the truth is that the State in which the rulers are most reluctant to govern is always the best and most quietly governed, and the State in which they are most eager, the worst."

For: "the only life that looks down upon the life of political ambition is that of true philosophy."

Perhaps I would not have been so overjoyed with Plato had I not leaned to the Mencken-Masters-Lewis school of anti-democratic thought; but I think none of them have attacked with more telling effect than:

"See too," I said, "the forgiving spirit of democracy, and the 'don't care' about trifles, and the disregard which she shows of all the fine principles which we solemnly laid down at the foundation of the city — as when we said that, except in the case of some rarely gifted nature, there never will be a good man who has not from his childhood been used to play amid things of beauty and make of them a joy and a study — how grandly does she trample all these fine notions of ours under her feet, never giving a thought to the pursuits which make a statesman, and promoting to honor anyone who professes to be the people's friend.

"These and other kindred characteristics are proper to democracy, which is a charming form of government, full of variety and disorder, *and dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike.*"

"In such a state of society the master fears and flatters his scholars."

I am in love with that phrase, I have been repeating it to everyone that gave me the slightest excuse ever since I came across it, "Dispensing a sort of equality to equals and unequals alike."

Plato pities him

who thinks that wisdom is the discernment of the tempers and tastes of the motley multitude, whether in painting or music, or, finally, in politics. . . .

and he believes that

to be an involuntary homicide is a less crime than to be a deceiver about beauty or goodness or justice in the matter of laws.

I see an attack upon Mark Twain in the following:

And the ludicrous effect to the outward eye vanished before the better principle which reason asserted, then the man was perceived to be a fool who directs the shafts of his ridicule at any other sight



but that of folly and vice, or seriously inclines to weigh the beautiful by any other standard but that of the good.

Plato would measure the arts by moral standards, but he measures his moral standard by the criterion of beauty, too:

We would not have our guardians grow up amid images of moral deformity, as in some noxious pasture, and there browse and feed upon many a baneful herb and flower day by day, little by little, until they silently gather a festering mess of corruption in their own soul. Let our artists rather be those who are gifted to discern the true nature of the beautiful and graceful; then will our youth dwell in a land of health, amid fair sights and sounds, and receive the good in everything; and beauty, the effluence of fair works . . . shall insensibly draw the soul from earliest years into likeness with the beauty of reason.

Plato would censor from literature even those passages in which an evil character is allowed to speak, because the poet cannot represent a character without temporarily being that sort of person! But let me point out that the Platonic censorship is not sex-obsessed. It is directed not only against the portrayal of lust but equally against that of anger, of cruelty, of anything ugly. He would consider the Old Testament infinitely more dangerous for the youthful mind than Boccaccio. His censor would probably ban the realist for not telling beneficial lies to the people.

In fact, he has much the same ideas as James Branch Cabell concerning the necessity of promoting "dynamic illusions"; but Cabell is an extreme romanticist, preaching removal from life — Plato condemns everything that does not deal directly with life. If the Cabellist points to Plato's praise of the retired philosopher, we must answer that philosophy was not considered by him an intellectual diversion but the foundation of life. He had a tremendous contempt for the man of whom he could say:

But his virtue was a matter of habit only, and he had no philosophy.

Moreover Plato's attack upon that individual parallel to social democracy is fruitful. For he likens the romantic belief in the instincts to a democracy of the emotions, "dispensing a sort of

equality to equals and unequals alike." The last century and a half have made this analogy of Plato's very true. The State Democratic and the Man Romantic take their rise from the same Rousseau, and have together made the politics, the literature, the wars, the art, the pragmatic philosophy, the American crassness, the *fin de siècle* decadence, the humanitarianism, and the self-expression movements that marked the past age. With Plato I conclude that a classic life of knowledge and reason is superior to the romantic one of pleasure and pain, of "experience," of "life," to employ the words in their modern cant sense.

Lane Cooper says: "the fundamental Hellenic traits are . . . three: direct vision, a high degree of sensitiveness, and an extraordinary power of inhibition. Homer and Sophocles saw clearly, felt keenly, and refrained from much." Our age does not refrain enough.

Plato, with the rest of the Greeks, had a peculiar power of attaining beauty without denying life, and of being true to nature without being naturalistic. For the Greeks, the good, the beautiful, and the true seemed not incompatible — just as religion, politics, and the individual life seemed much less distinct than they do to us. Of them it is true, as Diès has said in *Le Cycle Mystique*:

L'esprit moderne allie naturellement ensemble les concepts d'infini et de parfait. L'esprit antique faisait exactement le contraire. Le Grec, essentiellement artiste, aimait avant tout la beauté; essentiellement réaliste, il définissait la beauté par les conditions ordinaires de la vie: l'appropriation, l'adaptation, la mesure. Devant l'immensité indéfiniment agrandie, il n'eut pas éprouvé l'"horreur sacrée," le frisson de mystère et de poésie dont tressaillit l'esprit moderne devant ces troublantes perspectives. Il exprimait l'infini par l'indéterminé et l'indéterminé par l'inachevé, c'est-à-dire, par l'imparfait. S'il devait y avoir, dans le monde, quelque chose de divin, ce ne pouvait être, pour le Grec, sa grandeur, mais l'achèvement et l'appropriation de ses parties.

That sums up the style, the mode of thought, the peculiar beauty of the *Republic*, both the book and the Utopia. I thought to

have gone on and considered Plato in his ethical ideas, in his representation of the ideal:

when a man's pulse is healthy and temperate, and when before going to sleep he has awakened his rational powers, and fed them on noble thoughts and inquiries, collecting himself in meditation; after having first indulged his appetites neither too much nor too little, but just enough to lay them to sleep, and prevent them and their judgments and pains from interfering with the higher principle. . . .

or his discussions of the three sorts of goods of life, the puritanical, the hedonistic, and the entirely good — but his ethical attitude is pretty well summed up in a delicious bit of satire:

And shall we be told that when the very essence of the vital principle is undermined and corrupted, life is still worth having to a man, if only he be allowed to do whatever he likes with the single exception that he is not to acquire justice and virtue, or to escape from injustice and vice?

I think a fitting close is a paragraph in which he states the classic ideal of beauty as opposed to the fantastic, the hectic, or the sensational:

Suppose that we were painting a statue, and some one came up to us and said, "Why do you not put the most beautiful colors on the most beautiful parts of the body — the eyes ought to be purple, but you have made them black" — to him we might fairly answer, "Sir, you would not surely have us beautify the eyes to such a degree that they are no longer eyes; consider rather whether by giving this and the other features their due proportion, we make the whole beautiful."

This is more than a consummate theory of art — it is a criterion for the judgment of society, of ideals, of life itself. It is the conception toward which most of our contemporary writers are groping. I suppose no day passes without the necessity of choosing between the accentuation of one feature and the sacrifice of the part for the proportionate whole. It is Plato at his sagest counsel.

## Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.]

### THE HOMERIC TEST OF RUN-OVER LINES

Mr. Robinson Smith is issuing a series of *Research Papers* through Grafton & Co., in which he discusses various phases of the Homeric Question. Mr. Smith is an enthusiastic separatist and believes that only a small part of the *Iliad* and none of the *Odyssey* can be assigned to Homer. The *Original Iliad* he puts at about 3,600 verses, and he believes the present *Iliad* is due to a series of accretions made between 850 and 500 B.C. The *Odyssey* he would place well toward the end of that period.

He applies twenty tests in making his decision concerning original and added material. The test which he stresses most is the one of run-over lines. In his *Research Paper* No. 14, November, 1925, he says: "It is often difficult for the interpolator to say a thing within the line — that was a secret which the great poet kept to himself." "The suspected or interpolated lines are to be detected by a tendency to run over at the end of one line into the next." (This quotation is abridged.) "Let the student take the first 100 lines of the *Iliad* and see how rarely Homer lets his sentence run from one line into the next."

It is not easy to apply the test of run-over lines, since much depends on individual interpretation: Mr. Smith might sometimes see a run-over line where I do not, and the reverse. A perfectly fair test is the punctuation used by unprejudiced editors. I shall call a run-over line a line which has no punctuation at its close in the Teubner text edition.

The first 100 verses of the *Iliad* in the Teubner edition have 30 verses with no sort of pause at the end of the line and are printed as run-over lines. These were the 100 verses selected to show the small number of run-over lines in the genuine Homeric poetry. The last 100 verses of the *Odyssey* have but 13, or less than one-half as many run-over lines as the first 100 of the *Iliad*. Mr. Smith and all

the advanced critics assign books three, seven, and eight of the *Iliad* to later hands, yet book three has but 24, book seven but 24, and book eight but 28 run-over lines in each 100. Yet Mr. Smith picks out the first 100 lines of the *Iliad*, with 30 run-over lines, to prove that "the great poet kept to himself the secret of saying a thing within a line." A complete statement of the relative frequency of run-over lines in each book of Homer follows. After the name of each book is given the average number of run-over lines in each 100 verses. *Iliad*: Book i, 30; ii, 27; iii, 24; iv, 30; v, 29; vi, 32; vii, 24; viii, 28; ix, 31; x, 32; xi, 36; xii, 40; xiii, 38; xiv, 33; xv, 36; xvi, 36; xvii, 38; xviii, 34; xix, 39; xx, 35; xxi, 36; xxii, 30; xxiii, 33; xxiv, 32. *Odyssey*: i, 32; ii, 30; iii, 30; iv, 30; v, 31; vi, 28; vii, 34; viii, 31; ix, 32; x, 29; xi, 30; xii, 32; xiii, 38; xiv, 32; xv, 27; xvi, 29; xvii, 28; xviii, 26; xix, 29; xx, 29; xxi, 30; xxii, 29; xxiii, 32; xxiv, 28.

The average for the entire *Iliad* is about 32 and for the *Odyssey* about 30 run-over lines in each 100. A glance at the above figures will show that it is impossible to make any division of Homeric poetry on the basis of run-over lines, since the first 100 lines of the *Iliad*, which were selected to show the sparing use of run-over lines, have more such lines than the average 100 lines of the first ten books of the *Iliad* and considerably more than the average of the last ten books of the *Odyssey*.

The first 100 verses of the *Iliad* have 30 run-over lines, that is, just the average for the entire *Odyssey*, which plainly shows that the "secret which the great poet kept to himself" was known also to the poet of the second great epic.

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## NOTES ON HOMER

### 1

*Il.* iii. 39: Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές, ἡεροπευτά.

The usual interpretation of γυναιμανές is "mad over women." But in the Homeric *Hymn to Dionysus* the meaning must be "woman-maddening" with reference to the Bacchantes. In the present passage, this meaning would fit slightly better into the series of epithets in which it stands, in that it makes all three refer to the effect that Paris has on women. There is also an analogous word ἵππομανής, which admittedly means "horse-maddening."



## 2

## Il. i. 51: ἔχεπενκῆς

The ancient interpretation was "having bitterness." Of late "having a point" has won favor. My own suggestion is "clinging with its point," i.e., "barbed." The two older interpretations suffer from the defect that they make ἔχε- equal to -εις, Latin -osus. This meaning is rare: "holding" is the most common meaning, with the second member of the compound the direct object. But in ἐγεδερμία, "state of being hidebound," and ἐχέγγυος, "held by a bond," we have similar compounds where the second member is the means. Another argument against the traditional meaning of ἔχεπενκῆς is that it is very doubtful whether the verb ἔχω itself is ever used in Homer in the meaning "have," except with a personal subject.

## 3

- a. Od. ix. 204 f.: οἶνον, - - -  
 ἡδὺν, ἀκηράσιον, θεῖον ποτὸν  
 b. Od. ii. 341: ἄκρητον θεῖον ποτὸν  
 c. Od. ix. 297: ἄκρητον γάλα

The key to the meaning of (a) and (b) is found in Xenophon's *Anabasis* iv. 5. 27; καὶ πάνν ἀκρατος, εἰ μὴ τις ὕδωρ ἐπιχέοι, where ἀκρατος means "strong," "intoxicating." This meaning is evidently arrived at by emphasizing one distinctive quality of unmixed wine. The meaning "strong" would give point to both of the Homeric passages. There is no particular point in boasting that the stuff in one's cellar is not watered, but there is in claiming that it is not "watery." In (b) the meaning "strong" is emphatically called for by the whole tenor of the passage.

As for (c), the only plausible interpretation hitherto offered is that of Professor Oldfather in *Class. Phil.* VIII, 195 ff., who thinks that it refers back to 246 ff. My chief objection to this is that the reference is too vague. There should be a τό or δὴ or ὅα. Homer might also have used the word ἄθρεπτον, which would suit the meter just as well. I propose that the meaning be derived by isolating another quality of "unmixed" fluids, namely viscosity or "body." The meaning then would be "thickish," an epithet quite suitable to milk. This shade of meaning is found frequently in Hippocrates, where the adjective is applied to various bodily substances, as sputum, feces, blood, and vomit.

ERNEST RIEDEL

TULANE UNIVERSITY

## Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Miss Julianne A. Roller, Franklin High School, Portland, Ore., and to Mr. Walter A. Edwards, Los Angeles High School, Los Angeles, Cal. This department will present everything that is properly news—but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible.]

### Delphic Festival

A Delphic festival, to take place in Delphi itself on the ninth and tenth of May, 1927, has been organized by the Greek poet, Angelos Sikelianos, and his wife, Eva Sikelianos, an American and a graduate of Bryn Mawr. Events of the festival will be the *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus, with music for the choruses in ancient Greek musical modes, dances from ancient vases and bas-reliefs, and costumes hand-woven by Mme. Sikelianos herself; games in the ancient stadium; an exhibition of popular arts and crafts; a concert of Greek ecclesiastical music; songs and dances by shepherds of Parnassus; and trips to the ruins conducted by trained archaeologists. It is the desire of the promoters that scholars and lovers of Greece from all over the world may attend the festival, and to this end special arrangements are under way with steamship companies whereby special trips may be organized around the Mediterranean, including this festival and the Syracusan also, or else directly to Delphi and back. Visitors will land at Itea, be transported to Delphi by automobile, and stay in shelters on Mt. Parnassus, since the town does not have sufficient accommodations. Tickets for the whole festival, including automobiles, are \$35. Persons interested have been requested to purchase tickets before Christmas, in order that proper arrangements may be made. Attractive announcements and further information may be obtained from the organizers, at 7 Lekka St., Athens.

**The American Academy in Rome, School of Classical Studies**

The total enrollment of the Fourth Summer Session of the School of Classical Studies was 74; the number actually registered in Rome, 71. Those present up to the last exercise were 67; those who took the examination, 55; those who received the certificate, 52.

The Fifth Summer Session in Rome will take place July 4-August 13, 1927. The program will consist of one comprehensive and unified course designed to communicate a general acquaintance with the City of Rome from the first settlement to the present time, and a special acquaintance with it in the times of Cicero, Caesar, Virgil, and the first emperors. It will include (1) a historical survey of Rome, the City, (2) the monuments of ancient, early Christian, mediaeval, Renaissance, and modern Rome, (3) life and letters in the classical period, (4) visits to sites outside Rome, and (5) appreciations of modern Italy. There will be lectures daily in the Forum, on the Palatine, or elsewhere before the monuments. Independent reading and written work will be assigned, and the Academy certificate, recommending a credit of six hours in American graduate schools, will be presented on completion of the work by examination. The enrollment will be limited to 60. The Director desires it known that he is not interested financially in the size of the enrollment. Necessary expenses, including voyage in tourist class from and to New York and the Academy fee of \$50, may be calculated at a minimum of \$500. Further notes, with the program in detail, may be had from the Director of the Session, Professor Grant Showerman, 410 North Butler Street, Madison, Wisconsin.

**The Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges**

The Latin League of Wisconsin Colleges, promoted by teachers and friends of the classics in Wisconsin, was founded some fifteen years ago. The purpose of the League is to recognize good work done in Latin by college students and to encourage the culture which comes from Latin studies.

The League held ten annual contests from 1913 to 1922. It now holds its contests every two years, 1924, 1926, etc. Of the thirty-six prizes given by the League for its last twelve contests Milwaukee-Downer College has secured fourteen, Ripon College nine, Lawrence College four, Milton College four, Beloit College three, and Carroll College two.

In the 1926 contest Miss Leola George, of Milwaukee-Downer,

received first place (\$250) and the gold medal. Miss Beatrice Nielsen, of Milwaukee-Downer, received second place (\$75) and the silver medal. Miss Ruth Bitz, of Ripon, received third place (\$25 in books) and the bronze medal.

The examination is four hours in length. Sometimes it has been entirely sight work, the passages being taken from authors or parts of authors not usually read in college courses. Sometimes prose composition has been a part. The last two contests have announced authors to be prepared upon without help from any teacher, e.g., *Caesar's Civil War*, *Three Tragedies of Seneca*. The next contest will be held in Madison, Wisconsin, in April 1928.

## Book Reviews

*Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, with an English Translation by R. D. HICKS. (Loeb Classical Library) New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925.

In the range of ancient literature it would be difficult to find a book more interesting and more profitable to read than Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, or a book that contained a greater number of things of no importance, a greater number of inaccuracies. It is a cross-section of the intellectual life of Greece from the time of Thales to the third century of our era — unfortunately a cross-section made by a man of limited discrimination. It furnishes more than a thousand titles of books on philosophic subjects that were (probably) in the great library of Alexandria; it furnishes materials that can be found nowhere else concerning Zeno, Epicurus, and Pyrrho, and their systems of philosophy. There is hardly a philosopher, great or small, in the history of Greek thought, whom it does not help to clothe with reality, and concerning whose mental furniture it does not furnish valuable information. It is a veritable gold mine for the journalistic fraternity. Arthur Brisbane would find here a great supply of aphoristic wisdom that could be transmitted in tabloid form without modification to the modern world. Now that Mr. Hicks has given the English-reading world a worthy translation, the reviewer can urge the general public as well as those interested in the history of philosophy to familiarize themselves with what Diogenes of Sinope said about the training of athletes, and with the maxims that passed current as the wisdom of the seven sages. The version of Mr. Hicks is so far superior to the Bohn translation (the only one easily available for English readers) that it is more than justified, even though the Greek text is still in a very imperfect condition. It is perhaps overcautious to complain that the translator has been rather elastic in rendering the titles in his long lists of books. The Διατριβαί of Theophrastus (vii. 175) are "lectures," the Διατριβαί of Aristippus (v. 24) are "essays," while the Διατριβαί of Zeno are "interludes." When Theophrastus writes Περί Χάρους he is writing "*On Gratitude*"; when Demetrius of Phalerum writes



Περὶ Χάριτος he is writing "*Of Favour*." Numerous treatises Περὶ ἀρετῆς are mentioned. This title is sometimes rendered "*Of Virtue*," sometimes "*On Virtue*." While remembering that Emerson once said that "consistency is the hobgoblin of small minds," the reviewer still would like to know whether *on* is superior to *of*, or vice versa. In v. 45 the title Περὶ πνευμάτων is translated "*On Winds*." As in this same book list of Theophrastus Περὶ ἀνέμων has already been translated "*On Winds*," it seems likely that Περὶ πνευμάτων refers to some defect in breathing, as the next three titles are of books on paralysis, suffocation, and mental derangement. It is to be regretted that the translator has been obliged to render the various forms of τὰ φυσικά with the English word *Physics*. These are minor matters, however, and do not in any very material way lessen our obligation to Mr. Hicks for the worthy completion of a task so arduous and so important.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

CARLETON COLLEGE

*The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene.* Translated into English with Introduction and Notes by AUGUSTINE FITZGERALD. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1926.

Mr. Fitzgerald has placed the English-speaking world in his debt by making accessible in an alluring translation the letters of Synesius of Cyrene. The historian will turn to these letters for some knowledge of the debacle of the Roman Empire, the philosopher for a glimpse of Hypatia and some understanding of the state of philosophy at the beginning of the fifth century. Eutropius, the eunuch, was guiding the Roman state for the weak and immature Arcadius at Constantinople, cohorts of Marcomanni and Dalmatians were the unwilling and inefficient defenders of the southern borders of the empire against raids of Ausurians; the schools of philosophy at Athens were empty shells waiting to be disestablished by Justinian a century later; Alexandria was suffering under a Christian archbishop "bold, crafty, unscrupulous, corrupt, rapacious, and domineering," and was getting ready to extinguish the one true light that it possessed, and to make a martyr of its most gifted teacher. It was a world from which a Neoplatonist might well seek for release in ecstasies and frenzies. So all the more is it refreshing to find in such a world such a vigorous and upstanding man as Synesius of Cyrene.

He was sound of body; he loved the hunt and his horse and dogs as well as any English squire; he had a sense of humor that justifies Professor Phillimore in calling him "the fifth century Sydney Smith"; he could smile in the midst of a devastating storm at sea over the punctilios of a Jewish pilot who deserted his tiller at six o'clock on Friday in obedience to the law; his *Eulogy of Baldness* is still a cure for some of the ills of a disintegrating world. He knew Plato and quoted him a hundred and sixty times in a land where one "never heard a man uttering a philosophic phrase except when an echo is repeating his own voice." Although he had his training in Alexandria, he was Platonist rather than Plotinist and could say: "It is difficult, if not impossible, to shake convictions which have entered the soul through the intellect to the point of demonstration." This is the man who, on his own terms, but somewhat against his inclination (he had never been thoroughly trained in Christian doctrine), accepted the bishopric of Ptolemais. He was a true father to his flock — comforting and defending the oppressed — excommunicating an ignorant, avaricious, bloodthirsty Roman governor — fighting on the ramparts of Cyrene, and constructing catapults against marauding Ausurians.

He found bearing the burdens of a bishop heavier than Simon of Cyrene had found the cross of Christ. In the midst of many petty cares and duties he hungered for the leisure of the contemplative life. But it is easy to believe that, even if he had not been bishop, he would have sacrificed that leisure to defend his people and to exercise that leadership for which Providence had manifestly destined him.

The letter in which he announced to Archbishop Theophilus the terms on which he would accept the bishopric is of great interest, and a portion of it must be quoted. After he has declared that he will not give up the wife of his youth, he proceeds to say:

Now you know that philosophy rejects many of those convictions which are cherished by the common people. For my own part I can never persuade myself that the soul is of more recent origin than the body. Never would I admit that the world and the parts which make it up must perish. This resurrection, which is an object of common belief, is nothing for me but a sacred and mysterious allegory, and I am far from sharing the views of the vulgar crowd thereon. The philosophic mind, albeit the discernor of truth, admits the employment of falsehood, for light is to truth what the eye is to the mind. Just as the eye would be injured by excess of light, and just as darkness is more helpful to those of weak eyesight, even so do I consider that the false

may be beneficial to the populace, and the truth injurious to those not strong enough to gaze steadfastly on the radiance of real being. If the laws of the priesthood that obtain with us permit these views to me, I can take over the holy office on condition that I may prosecute philosophy at home and spread legends abroad, so that if I teach no doctrine, at all events I undo no teaching, and allow men to remain in their already acquired convictions.

In his lucid introductory essay, Mr. Fitzgerald has given us not only his own full knowledge of Synesius, but also the more illuminating passages from Willamowitz and Crawford and others who have carefully worked this field. The excellence of this piece of work makes it sure that the translation of the other works of Synesius, which Mr. Fitzgerald has ready for the press, will receive a hearty welcome.

CHARLES N. SMILEY

CARLETON COLLEGE

*Noctuinus*. By R. B. APPLETON. Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York, 1926. Pp. 56. 60 cents.

This little book of "dramatic dialogues," the latest addition to the *Lingua Latina* series, is written, like its predecessors, for use in classes taught by the direct method. It is the author's intention that it be read in the second year, following *Ludi Persici*, and that it be accompanied by much "oral practice, by question and answer, upon this or that construction involved," with a view to the acquisition of a mastery over the whole of the regular Latin syntax. The dialogues are ten in number, and range in length from three to five pages. All but one are further subdivided into scenes, so that the connected passages are relatively short.

The central figure in each of the ten playlets is the *Noctuinus* who gives his name to the collection and a small measure of unity to the otherwise disconnected plots. He appears as a boy, as a lad, as a young man, as a full-grown man, as a client, as a quack doctor, as owner of a villa; but whatever his age or situation, he is uniformly clever, and given to the perpetration of tricks to display his cleverness or to cheat his associates.

So far as subject matter is concerned, we might wish that the author had introduced more of Roman life and customs, and less of what is generalized or even modern. That, however, is a matter of opinion. The phases of Roman life which are presented are well

varied; and the playlets are sprinkled with apt quotations from the Latin authors.

For classes not taught by the direct method the book is avowedly not intended. However, if the teacher be reconciled to the lack of a printed vocabulary, the presence of constructions peculiar to such authors as Plautus and Horace, and the use of many words outside those usually encountered in high-school reading (e.g., *gravedo*, *alvarium*, *claudico*, *mango*, *hara*, *spadix*, *helluo*, *ingluvies*, *valetudinarium*, *fritillus*, etc.), the dialogues might be used for supplementary reading in ordinary high-school classes. For presentation in American schools three of the playlets seem suitable: *Equorum Mango*, in which a scheming horse-dealer is thwarted; *Pilulae*, in which Noctuinus succeeds in selling a quack medicine for the benefit of the deserving poor; and *Simulacrum*, in which a "fake" ghost helps Noctuinus to gather in the stakes at a dice game. The others either present rather considerable staging difficulties (e.g., in *Grues* the characters enter on horseback, in *Rusticus* a character strips and plunges into a pool, etc.) or are too wordy (in *Camelus* a speech is thirty-six lines long). Furthermore, the Latin class in the American high school, because of its makeup, usually prefers for presentation plays using a large number of characters in general, and female ones in particular. Only one of this collection uses more than four persons; and since the playlets were written for a boys' school, only two require a female character.

In size and binding, *Noctuinus* is uniform with the rest of the *Lingua Latina* series, but in internal features it far surpasses them. The quality of the paper is improved, and the introduction of numerous good illustrations — photographs of scenes, reliefs, statues, mosaics, etc., drawings of restorations, and sketched tailpieces — makes the book very attractive. Among the followers of the oral method, *Noctuinus* will undoubtedly receive a warm welcome.

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

*A Study of the Causes of Rome's Wars from 343 to 265 B.C.* A Dissertation presented to the Faculty of Princeton University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. By JOHN WILLIAM SPAETH, JR. Princeton: 1926. Pp. 69.

This excellent study is characterized by a wholesome sanity. Dr.

Spaeth has carefully digested his material, and gives evidence of mature judgment in his treatment of it. The chief purpose of the work is to discover the fundamental causes of Rome's early wars.

Thucydides and Polybius alone among ancient historians, says Dr. Spaeth, approximate to an adequate treatment of the causes of war, and of these two Polybius is the more consistent in his use of terms. He distinguishes between the fundamental causes of war, the secondary or alleged causes, and the actual beginnings of war.

The author adopts a similar method in studying Rome's early wars. As the historians of the period under consideration do not specially treat the causes of war, the attempt is made to use such facts as are obtainable from these in an attempt to reach some conclusions as to the more universal causes.

There follows an interesting discussion of the basic causes from which the principal wars among states have originated. The special interest of the author is to notice the operation of these deeper undercurrents in a particular period of Roman history. This introduction leads to a number of separate studies which constitute the body of the work: the Samnite wars, the Latin war, wars with the Etruscans, wars with the Gauls, the war with Tarentum.

Dr. Spaeth is careful and conservative and does not go beyond his evidence. His conclusions are not startling — but they are sound. Briefly: the Samnite wars originated from conflicting national interests of two peoples, both too vigorous and ambitious to live peaceably side by side; the Latins tried to protect their independence from Roman domination; the Etruscan wars arose from the ambition of certain Etruscan leaders to restore some part of the ancient Etruscan power and glory; the Gallic attacks arose from the primitive impulses of overpopulation and of external pressure on a migratory people, together with a desire for conquest and spoliation; the war with Tarentum was due largely to political causes, though here is a trace of the economic.

The conclusion is that, generally speaking, the causes of Rome's early wars were political. The only point at which economic causes are stressed, except in the treatment of the Tarentine war, is the war with Veii, in which the economic factor was predominant, one of the issues at stake being the control of the Tiber river-traffic and the trans-Tiberine trade routes.

The work makes a valuable addition to the literature on the early



wars of Rome. It is written in pleasing style and well arranged, with paragraphs at the end of each chapter indicating the conclusions reached. A larger work covering the causes of war among the Greeks and Romans would be interesting — yet his section of Roman history is no doubt so typical in character as to indicate some universal conclusions.

HERBERT EDWARD MIEROW

COLORADO COLLEGE

*M. Tulli Ciceronis De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum. Libri I, II.*  
 Edited by J. S. REID. Cambridge: University Press, 1925. Pp.  
 viii+239.

Professor Reid's edition of *De Finibus* i and ii will prove a most useful book. It is full of valuable comment on Latin usage and idiom, careful discussion of Cicero's thought, and copious quotation of parallels from ancient philosophical literature.

It is interesting to observe Reid's attitude toward the much debated problems of the sources of Cicero: "I must protest against the assumption, which has been often made, that Cicero had no first-hand knowledge of the writings of Epicurus. The hypothesis that he resorted to some Greek to give him an epitome of the Epicurean philosophy for the purposes of the *De Finibus* is in no way demonstrable, nor is it even probable" (p. vii). Reid defends Cicero from Diels' charge that he tampered with his Greek originals: "His allegations concern only some passages in which enumerations of philosophers are given with very brief references to their doctrine. The assumption of Diels that the existing catalogues found in the *Doxographi* were the only ones from which Cicero might have drawn his information seems to me to be neither provable nor probable. In *Quellenforschung*, both historical and philosophical, it has been a common error to underestimate grossly the compass of the ancient literature which has disappeared" (p. viii).

I wish to call attention to only a few particular points in the commentary. In his note on i. 21 Reid attributes to Diels the statement that the more recent Epicureans saw the puerile opinion of Heraclitus (that the sun is a foot in diameter) to be unthinkable. Diels' words are these: *At vel Epicurei investigatis pridem verioribus rationibus Heracliti puerilem opinionem cogitari posse non negarunt*. In his note on ii. 34 Reid speaks of the Antiochean confusion of Platonism,

Peripateticism, Stoicism in Alcinous' ἐπιτομή τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων. It would be unfortunate if anyone should draw the conclusion from this that Alcinous' interpretation of Platonism is derived from Antiochus. In the same note, following Diels he calls Eudorus "*Stoicus germanus*," a highly disputable assertion. In his note on ii. 52 he says that Chalcidius in chapter 226 (it should be 266) mentions Stoics who called God vision (*deum visum vocantis*). What Chalcidius says is that the Stoics called vision a god; cf. the following sentence: *id* (i.e., *visum*) *enim pulchro dei nomine adficiendum esse duxerunt*.

ROGER MILLER JONES

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

*The Odyssey of Homer.* Translated by SIR WILLIAM MARRIS. Oxford University Press, 1925. \$3.00.

Sir William Marris is governor of two great provinces in India, has had a prominent part in the Transvaal, and has been a leader in the promotion of railways in Central South Africa. Despite this great activity he has translated into English verse the *Odes* of Horace and the poems of Catullus, also he has found leisure to undertake and finish the huge task of translating the entire *Odyssey*.

The translator uses the ten-syllabled blank verse. These verses flow with melody and are written in simple and lucid language. Sir William has caught the poet's meaning and reproduced it in words which are easily understood by those who are familiar with only ordinary English prose.

A good example of his style and simplicity is given by the first words spoken by Odysseus at the feast of the Phaeacians (Book ix. 2 ff.):

Alcinous, Prince, renowned o'er all the people,  
Yes, 'tis a joy to listen to a minstrel  
Such as is this one, like the gods in voice.  
For me, I know of no such perfect pleasure  
As when good cheer hath hold of all the people,  
And feasters in the halls in order sitting  
List to a singer, having tables by them  
Laden with bread and meat, and the wine-bearer  
Draws from the mixing-bowl and serves the wine  
And pours it in the cups: this to my mind  
Is of all things the fairest. But thy heart

Inclines to ask me of my mournful sorrows —  
 More pain and grief for me! What shall I tell thee,  
 Or first, or last of all? For woes abundant  
 The gods who live in heaven have given me.

Every idea of the original reappears in this translation and little has been added. No other poetic translation with which I am familiar so nearly reproduces the simplicity and the thought of the original. By contrast I quote from the translation by the famous poet of almost the same name, William Morris:

Alcinous, lord and king, the people's foremost head,  
 The song of such a minstrel most good it is to hear,  
 The man who in speech made tuneful is the very godheads' peer.  
 Indeed for me I say it, that no happier time we bide  
 Than when the folk and all men are held by the merry tide,  
 And about the house are they feasting, and the singer's song they hear  
 All sitting along in order, while full boards before them bear  
 The bread and the flesh; and the wine-swain from the mixing-bowl filleth up  
 And beareth forth, and poureth the wine in every cup.  
 Yea, unto my mind this seemeth a thing most fair to be.  
 But thy mind hath been turned to ask me of the woful griefs of me.

Everything in the first translation is warranted by Homer, but in the second, "speech made tuneful," "the very godheads' peer," "the merry tide," and "wealth of woe" are totally without warrant and give a wrong impression of Homeric poetry.

Anyone reading this translation by Sir William will have an accurate impression of the contents of the *Odyssey*, but the thing which thrills me most in Homer is not the ideas but the melody, and this melody is found only in the original language of the poet. "Like to the gods in voice" is a correct translation but how far from the music of θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιος αὐδήν!

The sonorous polysyllables and the melodious inflections of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can not be reproduced in any English translation. I like this translation much, but it is no substitute for Homer in his own language.

JOHN A. SCOTT

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

*Greek Fictile Revetments In The Archaic Period.* By E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN. London: John Murray, 1926.

An amazing amount of material has been brought together in this attractive volume. The first part of the book contains descriptions of nearly fifty ancient temple-sites and the terra-cotta revetments that have been found at each. The second part consists of the catalogue, where all the material has been arranged under various heads. In the individual groups the arrangement of material is chronological or according to similarity of design, wherever such classification is possible; otherwise, the alphabetical order of the sites determines the disposition of the objects. The catalogue is followed by comparative tables, giving in parallel columns the name of the site and a description of the cornice, lateral sima, water-spout, antefix, ridge-pole palmette, lateral akroterion and central akroterion. A general index and thirty-nine plates conclude the volume.

Though this book deals with a recondite subject, it will be useful and interesting not only to a limited number of specialists but also to all who are interested in this early period of Hellenic life.

*Greek Fictile Revetments In The Archaic Period* is a companion-volume to *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments In Etruria And Latium In The VI And V Centuries B.C.* and *Archaic Fictile Revetments In Sicily And Magna Graecia*.

ALFRED P. DORJAHN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

## Recent Books

[Compiled by Joseph W. Hewitt, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.]

- Aristides. Aristidis qui feruntur libri rhetorici II.* Ed. GULIELMUS SCHMID. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Pp. 146. M. 5; geb. M. 6.
- BAILEY, CYRIL. *The Mind of Rome.* Contributions by CYRIL BAILEY, J. G. BELL, J. G. HARRINGTON-WARD, and others. Illustrated. London: Oxford, 1926. Pp. 515. 8s. 6d.
- BARRY, MARY F. *The Vocabulary of the Moral-Ascetical Works of Saint Ambrose.* A study in Latin lexicography. Brookland: Catholic Education Press, 1926. Pp. 287. \$2.00.
- BAYNES, NORMAN. *The Historia Augusta; Its date and purpose.* New York: Oxford, 1926. Pp. 150. \$2.50.
- BURCK, E. *De Virgilii Georgicon partibus iussivis.* Diss. Lips. Lucka: Berger, 1926. Pp. 103.
- Caesar. *Galic War, I-VII.* Edited by A. T. WALKER (revised ed.). Chicago: Scott, Foresman, 1926. Pp. 702. \$1.72.
- Caesar. *Commentaries on the Gallic War,* with a literal interlinear translation. Revised Edition. Chicago: Regan. Pp. 312. \$2.00.
- Caesar. *C. Juli Caesaris commentarii. II, Commentarii belli civilis.* Ed. ALFREDUS KLOTZ. Ed. Major. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Pp. 184. M. 2.60; geb. M. 4.20.
- Cicero. *Discours. Tome X. Catilinaires.* Texte ét. par HENRI BORNECQUE et trad. par EDOUARD BAILLY. Paris: "Les belles Lettres." 1926.
- CLEMENCEAU, G. E. B. *Demosthenes:* translated by CHAS. M. THOMPSON. Boston: Houghton, 1926. Pp. 158. \$2.50.
- COUISSIN, PAUL. *Les Armes Romaines:* Essai sur les origines et l'évolution des armes individuelles du légionnaire romain. Avec un avant-propos par M. SALOMON REINACH. 191 gravures et 6 planches. Paris: Champion. Pp. xlv+570. 35 fr.
- DENT, E. J. *Terpander, or Music and the Future.* (Today and Tomorrow) London: K. Paul, 1926. Pp. 95. 2s. 6d.
- DICKINSON, F. W. A. *The Use of the Optative Mood in the Works*



- of *St. John Chrysostom*. Dissertation. Brookland: Catholic Educ. Press, 1926. Pp. 179. \$2.00.
- DURRBACH, FELIX. *Inscriptions de Delos: comptes des Hieropes* (Nos. 290-371). Paris: Champion. Pp. 200. 160 fr.
- ENGEL, W. *Die Schicksalsidee im Altertum*. Religionswissenschaftliche Untersuchung. Erlangen: Palm und Enke, 1926. Pp. 120. M. 6; geb. M. 7.50.
- Epictetus*. *The Book of Epictetus: the Enchiridion*, together with chapters from the *Discourses*, and selections from the *Fragments*. (Harrap Library) London: Harrap, 1926. Pp. 294. 3s. 6d.
- Epicurus*. The extant remains, with short critical apparatus, translation, and notes by CYRIL BAILEY. London: Oxford, 1926. Pp. 432. 21s.
- FAYE, EUGENE DE. *Origen and his work*. Authorized translation by FRED ROTHWELL. London: Allen and Unwin, 1926. Pp. 192. 5s.
- FREEMAN, KATHLEEN. *The Work and Life of Solon: with a translation of his poems*. New York: Oxford, 1926. Pp. 236. \$3.50.
- GEYER, F. *Alexander der Grosse und die Diadochen*. (Wissenschaft und Bildung No. 213) Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer, 1925. Pp. 156. M. 1.80.
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